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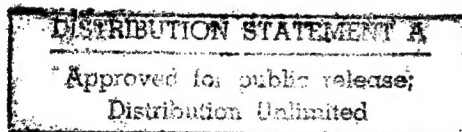
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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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27 September 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF HUNGARIAN INFLUENCE IN BUCHAREST

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 7, 1985 pp 95-105

[Article by Nandor Stossel: "Eyewitness from Bucharest"]

[Text] Before World War II the author was a Hungarian correspondent in Bucharest and, at the same time, was on the staff of the BRASSOI LAPOK. After the war, returning from his exile in Turkey, he continued to work for a while as a journalist of Hungarian citizenship in liberated Romania. During the time of personal cult in Romania, his "benefactors" in Bucharest had him detained for 3 years; later he worked at the Hungarian embassy in Bucharest, then he was repatriated in the mid-60s and became a staff member of the MTI's main department of foreign policy in Budapest. The writing below is an excerpt from his autobiography he is currently working on under the title, "A History of My History."

At the threshold of the 1940's, the earth was shaking under the Romanian capital city as if it were the center of an earthquake. Bucharest is indeed a city of earthquakes: I witnessed 6 or 7 earthquakes in as many years there. This time, however, it was the Nazi expansion that caused uncertainty for the city, just as the clandestine rumbling of the earth does, making one aware that hell is there underneath in the making which may swallow up everything.

It was already in 1937 when the Romanian king realized that if "going under" is the only alternative, then the best thing to do is to come to terms with the underworld. Octavian Goga, a great representative of Romanian national poetry and a one-time friend of Ady, took upon himself to carry out the king's assignment. He set up a coalition government with professor Cuza, the somewhat senile father of Romanian anti-semitism, with a single important program: to eliminate the jews from economic life.

The first thing the first fascist government of Romania did was to bring several thousands of peasants to Bucharest from various parts of the country to show, on special trains and in national costumes (for day-wages which was unprecedented), the country's "folk" unity. At the head of the marching columns the bands played Mussolini's "Giovinezza". The soft-walking bemocassined mass of peasants was pushed in a hesitating and chaotic manner by the beat of the Italian fascist march; this was also the way in which in the

following years it adjusted in its thinking to this "imported merchandize." This was also found out about Goga as well after he recognized his naivety--to say the least--and resigned from his office of prime minister. It is said that when he came out of the palace, he went directly to that little white church in which he took the oath of office, promising the accomplishment of an economic reorganization that even the best specialists of the subsequent German occupation failed to accomplish; and, in front of the same altar, he said with a pathetic tone, "You won, Israel!", meaning the "Israelite rabble" of Bucharest.

Was there anyone who understood, at least in the drama of the moment, the discord of the celebrated nationalist poet who was also a politically deluded fascist politician? I do not know what the medical cause of his imminent death was. I saw his open casket carried through the streets, and I was thinking about his praise of the universality of Madach's work only a few years before when I was sitting in front of him with my notebook. Perhaps he would have lived, had he not taken the camarilla's decoy so seriously.

The failure of the Goga-Cuza administration temporarily undermined the more serious faction of the extreme right-wing currents: the monarch introduced royal dictatorship. But in the apparent quietness the other head of the dragon was lifted with a renewed force: the iron guard which was pushed into the background through ever more brutal police methods. Interior Minister Armand Calinescu, the king's last civil support, had the iron guardists shot on street hunts until he himself was shot.

The main pillar of the royal dictatorship collapsed with a great crash at the time when it had to return to the Soviet Union those territories which were annexed to Romania as a consequence of World War I. (This was the beginning of a Romanian foreign policy which, contrary to the Titulescu theory, proclaimed that God save Romania from her neighbors: she can have friends but as far away from her borders as possible.)

Many of those who, according to their papers, could have found themselves in the reannexed Soviet territory, began to move. Even outsiders tried to join: it was at Galac where one had to board the Danube track-boats (I heard this at the boarding-house where I had my meals, from those who came from there), and Galac was not too far away.

Soon a new wave of collapse came: the Vienna decision on Northern Transylvania, with a (for me) surprising twist of internal policy, namely, that Laszlo Bardossy, Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest, was able to render great services which led him to the seat of the prime minister.

Before coming to Bucharest, Bardossy was an attache at the Hungarian embassy in London. In the Romanian capital he lived quietly and in seclusion. He appointed the embassy's Jewish doctor and Jewish attorney for outside service. Allegedly he never uttered Hitler's name although the latter eventually caused his trip to Heaven.

In retrospect it is justifiable to ask the question whether or not Bardossy, as prime minister, remembered what he saw and experienced in the course of his work in Bucharest. Did it occur to him to draw any conclusions from all of

this? Did it occur to him to at least call Miklos Horthy's attention to the danger of an "unthinkable" Hungarian nazi rule?

As I mentioned above, it was precisely around this time when the Romanians began to watch more closely what their neighbors were doing. Neighborhood is never a politically unimportant factor, not even in a "quiet situation." Even Bardossy could have known that in this respect Budapest and the capitals of the so-called successor states carried a great burden: the various powers cast neighbors on top of one another in the same territory so that they had to elbow one another to make a separate step forward or backward and to learn from each other's problems.

Apparently, however, Bardossy in his position as prime minister did not learn from the case of the iron guard which was an unequivocal sign that the reason for establishing an ideologically epileptic and sadistic iron guard, a Nazi organization by Hitler et al. as a second piece of iron in the fire against the Romanian royal camarilla (and, of course, against the blinded Horthy regime) was not a mere political hobby or, let us say, sympathy, as was in due time demonstrated by the events in Romania.

The fact that sensible thinkers and responsible literates did not know (or if they did, they could not think further) anything about what took place after the Vienna decision right next to us in the neighborhood, shows the degree of Bardossy's irresponsibility in this regard. They did not think it was possible for the Hungarian nazis to actually seize power.

Really, who thought that it was possible?

It is not easy to skip over this question. And today it is even more difficult, after so many secret documents were found and after biographical confessions have been trying, with more or less success, to shed some light in retrospect on Horthy's "unexplainable" straightforwardness, honesty and irreparable irresoluteness against Hitler.

But it would be just as justified to ask today, who could have imagined that, only a few war years later, the same Romania would surprise Hungary, of all others, her closest neighbor which was next according to the movement of the eastern front, by her 23 August 1944 desertion which was well organized and efficiently implemented--although the responsible leaders of both countries were equally well-informed about the conditions and consequences of such an action?

With regard to Horthy, he knew well before Kassa's pseudo-bombing that it was with a great disadvantage against Bucharest when he and Bardossy accepted the greatest risk: the entry into war against the Soviet Union. According to Hitler et al Hungary's role was secondary and even tertiary, in comparison with that of Romania. The willingness of the "competitor" was only increased by the Romanian fascists' territorial interests. And, after all of this, it was the Romanian party that put the Horthy administration at a newer disadvantage by changing sides with the consent of the entire staff of officers which took an oath of allegiance to Romania's King Mihai just as the Hungarian staff of officers did to Horthy.

The point is not that Bardossy's responsibility could have relieved Horthy from his; it is rather how and why the Hungarian prime minister responsible to Parliament so easily turned his back to everything that he from among the Hungarian war-time statesmen was in the best position to see and understand in 1941 the developments in Bucharest. As the example of the iron guard showed, Hitler would not have at that time intervened for the interest of the Hungarian nazis (he did not yet have to face such problems in the midst of his successes), and it is perhaps not too far-fetched to think that in this case Horthy could have remained, even later, the Fuhrer's main supporter in the Fortress of Buda. With regard to the following events, we could be wise only in retrospect... But let me continue for the time being with Bardossy in Bucharest.

Ambassador Bardossy represented for years in the Romanian capital the Hungarian royal government and--although not officially but naturally--for Hungarians in Romania the neighboring mother-country. No one restrained him in establishing, at his will, free and direct contact with Hungarians in Romania and with their political and cultural organizations. How did he relate in this world with Bucharest's Hungarians? I could not say. Before World War II no one drew an authentic picture of the situation of Hungarians in the Romanian capital. He could not have either but, as the number 1 representative of official Hungary, he could not have failed to see this problem. Perhaps this was the reason why he opened the reception rooms of the embassy to representatives of every kind of Hungarian clubs and organizations on 15 March of every year, offering some food to this mixed army of guests. At such times 150 to 200 of us were crowded in the tastefully furnished reception rooms. There was no greeting speech, no toast, but the guests ate, in their holiday attire, together with Hungary's royal ambassador on this Hungarian national holiday. In what way and whether he was able to select representative Hungarians in Bucharest remains unanswered. In this regard the interested parties themselves were supposedly the main obstacle. Because of their social diversity, they created a unified movement that really represented their mutual interests.

Yet the number of Hungarians in Bucharest greatly increased between the two world wars. No matter where one went, one could see people loudly and freely boasting about their Hungarian nationality or ancestry once they recognized a Hungarian from the mother-country at an accidental introduction or a simple one-time contact, hearing a word or two in shops, offices or on the street car, or seeing him reading a Hungarian paper. There were many of those, too, who had only one Hungarian parent. The newly arrived person constantly heard Hungarian spoken in more crowded places. It was an honor in Bucharest to be a Hungarian worker, office clerk, tradesman or even servant. They were honored for their diligence, know-how and decency.

Already before World War I, Bucharest, whose number of inhabitants approached 400,000, allegedly had 20,000 Hungarians (at least according to Hungarian encyclopedias of that time), not to speak of those who, after World War I, lost their roots and wandered back and forth, trying to find a place on either side of the Carpathian Mountains. Then, in the 1930's, in spite of careful official negations, many people swore that the number of Hungarians grew at least to 200,000 to 300,000 in Romania's capital city whose population grew in the meantime to an excess of a million people. The working places were full

of "ungurs" or, as the nationalists said, "oagers" or "boanghens". They also filled the markets and, on holidays, the walkways. On Sunday afternoons, the Cismigiu Park looked like the Varosliget [Budapest's City Park] as depicted by Ferenc Molnar: female Szekely servants in holiday attire and young men from Transylvania in military uniforms, hardly speaking any Romanian, walked hand in hand, in good spirit and loudly, finding one another.

I could not believe that the drivers of the two-horse carriages, dressed in Russian fashion and appearing typical of Bucharest, allegedly were distant Hungarians. They were the first Hungarians from Moldavia I had met. Until then I could not believe that these Russian figures constituting the background of Romanian streets as in a Tolstoyan or Lermontovian picture, could have anything to do with Hungarians; not until I rode with one of them. It took a while until I asked (in Romanian) the "birjar," who was watching the horses' trot, sitting stiffly and silently in his dark blue, high-collared and close corduroy kartan with a matching uniform cap, whether or not he spoke Hungarian. Of course he did, and smiled that, apparently, "the gentleman is also Hungarian." He did not find it proper to turn his face to me during the conversation on this elegant two-horse carriage. He kept sitting stiffly, showing only through clicking to the horses with his tongue that he is an "accessory" only of the ride and not that of making an acquaintance. It was said that they were continuing a strict profession handed down from generation to generation, becoming members of a caste of Bucharest originating from large peasant families in the distant Jaszvasar or Bako (the Hungarian names of Iasi and Bacau, Romanian cities in Moldavia), settling in Romania's capital city, establishing the monopoly of drivers. They lived a separate, closed life in their yarded houses in Bucharest. But the proliferation of automobiles, which began around that time, forced this colony to get off their driver's seats and mix with Bucharest's population of servants.

Whether they were already born in Bucharest or recently immigrated from Transylvania, Bansag, the Szekely land or Bukovina, looking for (and generally finding) a livelihood, newer and newer freshly arrived Hungarians were standing on weekdays on the Piata Halelor, on Saint George Square, at the slaughter house and at construction sites, waiting for work by the day.

And this was what attracted even educated Hungarians from Transylvania and the Bansag by the thousands to Bucharest. Neither the Romanian employers (offices, merchants and entrepreneurs) nor the Hungarian work seekers (graduated professionals, technicians and intellectuals) needed an agent. Mutual interest brought them together at the most varied levels of employment.

I heard the following "joke" from a city father of Budapest (who, as a member of Budapest's official delegation, has seen the hallways of a few Romanian ministries): "I have seen so many name plates on office doors, revealing the Hungarian names of assistant clerks, department chiefs and executives (at that time it was not yet fashionable in offices to hide one's Hungarian-ness under Romanianized names) that, to my word of honor, I thought I was at home. Why is there a need here for territorial reorganization?"

I met Bardossy several times at Hungarian-Romanian sport events. He patiently held the sponge on the stands for tennis champion Asboth; they were even related through his wife's family. Thus I included him in one of my favorite



generalizations: he who likes sports cannot be a bad person. The first disclaimer was given by the red-haired soccer player (although I still considered his case as an exception) when in 1939 he arrived in Bucharest as the assistant coach of the Hungarian team and refused to greet me because he heard that I questioned the justification for his nazi sentiments. Although he himself admitted that he was able to leave the slums with the help of Jewish money--and, of course, his ability as a soccer player.

Let me add that the point is not that being a sportsman entails an immaculate moral behavior. But at that time I thought this was true and I still think that in our world the athlete is the only person who can work in a profession which could not even exist without the objective guarantees of equal chances and in which it depends only on the athlete to consistently enforce the rules.

Today not even the "amateur" coach can adopt the statement, attributed to Appelles, the honorable ancient painter, to the studded shoes. When his sandal-maker tried to critique a painting of his which showed a male figure, he said that what is above the sandals (the soccer shoes) is beyond his comments. And if this player was more able to see from here a social enemy in his ex-president, let us say, this was not the admitted reason for his hatred; instead he advocated nazi racism which was foreign to soccer (and, generally, to anything human), condensing in his personality and popularity the danger of nazi demagoguery. Had the nazi times not created people who on this or that level dirties their guarded personalities in such an astonishing way, then Bardossy and the red-haired player would not appear here next to one another.

After the Vienna decision the noose got tighter around Karoly Hohenzollern's neck. The green filth of Obor, the Pantelimon and the other outer districts began to move toward downtown. The demonstrators avoided only the area in front of the palace: here the events would have drawn blood. At other places where armed police stood in their way, they pushed women and children up to the front.

The king finally decided to appoint general Ion Antonescu, his staunchest opponent, to the task of forming a government. Only the general was able to create order, being the commandant of a nearby and ready armed division.

The Red Bulldog (this is how the red-haired general was called), as a first step, had the king resigned. Allegedly he did this by saying that the mob is likely to attack the palace at any moment. The king did not even look out the window but rapidly agreed, determining how many rail cars worth of values he can take out of the country.

This is what happened early September 1940; at that time the entire power was concentrated in the hands of the iron guard, i.e. the general who sympathized with it. The general put Mihai, the young heir to the crown, in the place of the deposed king. In the form of a declaration, the soldier-dictator let it be known in good time that he will include in his government only the ferocious leaders of the iron guard which, although decimated, was undergoing a rebirth. The determined greenshirts divided the portfolios among themselves, and the citizens were praying. From this point on, the iron guard ruled in the offices, at every level and in every room.

The early winter was not promising anything good at any rate. The misgivings were also enhanced by the great German conquests of the summer. People were almost in shock when seeing the newsreels. One day the nazi troops paraded in Berlin; the next day they were in Paris. They showed the British underwear scattered in a panic on the seashore at Dunkerque, the personal belongings thrown away, and the nazi soldiers laughing at the sight. And after the viewers rubbed their eyes, it was not only on the screen where they met Hitler's soldiers. Coming out of the darkness of the movie theater, they also saw them on the streets of Bucharest.

In October 1940, Antonescu hurriedly called in the Wehrmacht's so-called elite formations, with the official reason of having them help in the training of Romanian army. Antonescu, the Conducator (and already a marshal), who previously did not have as much credit in the Third Empire as the Hungarian regent, instantly beat Horthy. Allegedly, he "asked" the nazi army to circumvent Hungary in stepping on Romania. As a foresight or for any other reason (it does not matter why), he was able to create this situation. Apparently, then, he was not playing with the impatient nazi ally which was striving for total solutions. He was housing guests, not occupiers, drawing the total military consequences of the Vienna decision. And with this step he created, already in 1940, such a confidence in him which, only a few years later, on 19 March 1944, Horthy was unable to create although he surrendered himself and the country, stock and barrel.

From 1940, Horthy (now also surrounded from the East) had great difficulties in competing with Romania in serving Berlin. In the view of the German staff, Hungary's scope of action was shrinking, decreasing in its moral value in comparison with that of Romania. In Bucharest it was explained that had Antonescu deposed the king earlier, Hitler would have thought twice before making the Vienna decision. But this was only a truth of gossip. Truth is, that it was precisely the Vienna decision that gave power to the Romanian fascist leader whose policies were even more radical and more consistent than those of Horthy. Hitler killed two birds with one stone: he created Hungarian gratefulness and commitment, and Romanian fascism and loyal military alliance.

As a result of the new business perspectives, the number of opportunists in Bucharest greatly increased. Those groups (including most industries) which now had a good fare, watched with a patriotic satisfaction how the brand new German uniforms appeared in Capsa, Nestor, Anghelescu and other fashionable places as the people in them, the modest and courteous, exemplary commissioned and noncommissioned officers, devoured hot chocolate crowned with double whipped cream (long forgotten in Germany) and a double portion of pound-cake; but they were the same people of Bucharest who added in their thoughts, why, you hungry Germans, you are having fun in these Balkans that you despise, finding goodies that are now unavailable in your country which produces cannons instead of butter!

Old ladies in Persian fur coats nodded approvingly at the sight of clean, shaven and well-dressed German troops (as opposed to Bucharest's loitering and unshaven male population): see, if we cannot travel to the West, the West comes to live here.



The honeymoon with the elite troops created for a time a kind of peace in Romania's capital city. It is perhaps the novel entitled "Typhon" by Joseph Conrad (the English novelist of Polish ancestry) in which one can read about a similar peace: when people talk to one another, they think the word reaches the other's ear although the vocal chords do not even make the air move, for the atmospheric pressure is unusually low, forecasting a destructive typhoon approaching the atmosphere of playfulness.

In the meantime, several famous soccer players, who earlier had come from Transylvania to sign a contract in Bucharest (the more famous personalities on whom I frequently reported in my earlier capacity as a sports correspondent), rushed to Northern Transylvania at the first ring of the bell, to be Hungarians. My stirred imagination painted the old picture above their heads: not too long ago, these Sunday heroes of Bucharest's stands and grass fields were stiffly standing at attention during the sounds of the national anthem praising the Romanian king, and now they used the same legs to turn around their studded shoes.

The nazi-fascist demagoguery was able to exert its terrifying force even at higher intellectual levels. In the satellite countries it took its victims by fishing in troubled waters, and Romania was no exception.

Panait Istrati, physically broken and mentally aging, could not understand, for instance, what was going on around him when the aggressively agitating iron guardsmen buzzed around him. The man who was discovered by Romain Rolland and who grew up in the slums of the turn-of-the-century Danube harbor of Galac and took off as a writer like a meteor, took his place, prostituting his fame, in the central book store where he dedicated his books for the benefit of the iron guard which took ample care about advertising the great event. They were enthusiastically showing the new scalp of fascism.

Panait Istrati lived much abroad. He came home disillusioned and lacked the time or the opportunity to learn about the real intentions of the new crusaders filled with a spirit of terror. He died soon on a hospital bed.

I met Liviu Rebreanu later, in 1940. My relationship with him was old and personal, going back to the time when, as director of Bucharest's National Theater, he had "The Tragedy of Man" produced in Goga's translation. I saw the handwritten, poster-size announcement for the actors at the theater entrance. Rebreanu's "valiant" intention could not be implemented. He probably gave up the fight after he became the president, I think, of the radio. From this time on he enjoyed listening to Istvan Pluhar in my company--for his son-in-law became a sports commentator.

Rebreanu still spoke Hungarian beautifully and flawlessly. It was evident that he like conversations in Hungarian every time I visited him. The only time he asked me to switch to Romanian was when he began writing. As he said, in writing he has more trouble finding the nuances if during that period he talks in Hungarian, i.e. if he mixes the two languages.

Rebreanu, born in Beszterce, was driven at the age of 24 (in 1909) from Transylvania to Bucharest by his ambitions as a writer. The city was the capital of a typically Balkanian monarchy. Inexperienced and in a totally

strange country, he saw the still lively after-waves of the 1907 crushing of the uprising of Romanian peasants which became an inspiration for many artists.

Rebreanu reacted with a special sensitivity to the murderous act of the Romanian Boyars which also elicited an outcry from the whole world. This was when he began to compare the fates of Transylvanian and Regatian Romanian peasants. For a long time he carried within himself and in his notes these feelings. He finished and published his novel, "Rebellion," as a retrospective warning elicited by the social tensions exploding in the 1930's. When he recommended the "Rebellion: for translation (after we jointly decided that it was time to introduce him in Hungarian), he made the statement that this work of his can be "accepted even politically" by Hungarian middle-class readers.

Dipping into the book, right at the beginning, a few arguments made it clear that, according to Rebreanu, the ethnic representatives sent to the parliament in monarchic Transylvania achieved more for the peasantry than they achieved against their lords in Romania.

The more the power of right-wing policies grew in Bucharest, the less frequently we met--not because of me. One day (I do not remember the date), I saw Rebreanu's name under a short story in a periodical of the iron guardists, displayed in a shop window. I thought it was a misunderstanding. I rang the bell at his home on Calea Victoriei. His clear blue eyes looking out from under his silvery hair showed embarrassment but I misunderstood this embarrassment. What troubled him probably was not only that I discovered his signature in that periodical but also that this signature appeared under something that was not his original writing. Supposedly when a manuscript was demanded from him, he pulled out an old writing that was not suitable for the purpose. Perhaps he did not even notice that the manuscript was a Romanian adaptation of a Hungarian literary work, "The Peasant Buying a Scythe" by Kalman Mikszath. Probably he did not look into it to discover his mistake and now, I thought, he did not want to give any explanation, and I understood this, for it was I whom the situation became painful: I provoked it.

I remembered that Mikszath does not say whether his peasant is Hungarian or something else, but this was unimportant; what was important was where Rebreanu's signature appeared. Earlier I thought something like this was unthinkable. It is possible that the author of "Forest of the Hanged" (this is where he writes down the execution of his brother who was declared a deserter by a court marshal of the monarchic army), through reminiscences, related extremity with extremity, and thus the demagogy was able to show another scalp.

We were already in the midst of the iron guard's terror. One day, going home, I saw a truck near my home, on the corner of Cimpineanu Street and the Calea Victoriei. Iron guardists were busy around it, loading quickly hoarded Jews who were never seen again. People were talking for days about such scenes but up until then they were confined to the Vacaresti neighborhood's narrow streets where the poor Jews lived.

In the meantime groups of iron guardists went through the homes, looking for "destructive" literary works. The action was extended to the entire

plutocracy", regardless of religious denomination. They were generally 16 or 17-year-old youngsters, roaming from home to home, confiscating even Larousse encyclopedias because of their "suspiciously Russian-sounding name", to be burned. People across the city were saying that the groups sent for Jews took their victims even to the slaughterhouse: they were hanged by their clothes on the strong hooks on chains and stabbed to death the same way as slaughtered cattle go from hand to hand. In the boarding house a picture was shown around about naked bodies dumped into the November cold in the Baneasa forest in the vicinity of Bucharest. People were looking at this picture without a word: they could not believe their eyes, they could not comprehend how their fellow human beings are capable of sinking to such unrestrained bestiality, how they are capable of introducing such a degree of drill and hysteria.

It is true that the Hungarian and Romanian peoples went through many common troubles in the course of history. Well, regarding the terror of the arrow-cross and the iron guard that originated from the German-Nazi fascist power, the two peoples can shake hands again, regardless of the degree of suffering one or the other sustained. One's own suffering is the dearest.

But the Hungarian administration of that time, as clearly seen in Bardossy's case, could not (or did not want to) learn from the events of horror in Romania in 1940-41. Or let us rather say, it did not pay attention when it should have in order to assess the clearly foreseeable danger, to evaluate Hitler's policies, and to avoid the puppet-show that caused, through lowly political tricks, the downfall of an already broken Horthy and his replacement by a lunatic national leader.

Of course, it is easy to set up such a theory in retrospect when we talk of Horthy's administration which, in order to keep its power, spent more time on looking for "moral" loopholes than on finding acceptable solutions for that time and place. Blinded by their 20-year-old "anti-Bolshie" campaign, it could not see (and in reality it did not even want to see) where tolerance toward the extreme right-wing, turning into an unrestrained and primitive intellectual violence, could lead. Perhaps no one could have awakened them from their illusion that nazism and its Hungarian hosts are simply an opposition to party policy although the Hungarian nazis have also made preparations in the winter of 1940-41 for a world of henchmen that would oust Horthy, just as the leadership of the iron guard became bold against Antonescu, its supreme patron who even shared his actual power with it.

However, the eyewitness in Bucharest could see without any special political sensory equipment what the world of Buda, headed by Bardossy, could not see.

In the Bucharest of November 1940, at the consummation of the iron guard's power, everyone could see in the streets that the violent power separated the leading strata through division and faction-making. Antonescu and his civilian followers went to Berlin to complain about the iron guard's ruining the national economy which supported the war machinery. On the other hand, the green-shirts maintained that they were the real children of nazism whom Hitler can trust until the end. The division of power and the resulting tension culminated in a nervous breakdown of public opinion when the horrible November 1940 earthquake of 7.6 degrees on the Richter scale alarmed Bucharest's stunned people.

Antonescu had to openly break ties with the iron guardists who were looting on the streets in the panicky and desperate aftermath of the earthquake. And he acted rapidly. He got even with the iron guard through a dictator-like determination, through armed violence, and on his own, without asking Hitler. The greenshirts were also prepared for this showdown, for the bloody rivalry for Hitler's apple: they set up carefully supplied armories at strategic points of the capital city.

And Hitler kept silent. After his west-European conquest, he and his staff were busy with other important tasks. A bloody fight was going on in the streets of Bucharest. There are no doubt many reports on those few days when people saw the battles of the iron guardists with Antonescu's small-framed brown-faced, agile soldiers. They understood that if they go out on the streets, they can avoid the flying bullets only through rubble and blood.

A few bullets fired from the nearby telephone center even found their way through a window of my home, ending up in the facing wall. Another window of mine looked toward the Excelsior hotel (there is no trace of it today) in which 12 or 16 members of a German army patrol lived, probably as a "garrison". I concluded this from the fact that the guard went out every day, fully equipped and in steel helmets, for "reconnaissances" up the Caela Victoriei all the way to the police headquarters which became the last citadel of the iron guard. They were not bothered even in these days: they went out on their patrol as usual while the ferocious fight went on around them. The square in front of the National Theater (this was where I lived) was already almost entirely covered with blood when, after several days of battle, the time came for the final assault against the iron guardists defending the headquarters. The army needed only this closing step, to smoke out the headquarters. Everyone knew that if the attack takes place, none of the several thousands of iron guardists still fighting will be left.

It did not take place. This time the German patrol did not turn around at the headquarters but halted in front of it, in formation, creating a front. A minute of silence followed. Then a German officer or noncommissioned officer (I do not know what his rank was) sent a message to the defenders, ready to die, to put down their arms, leave them in the building, and empty the headquarters. Everyone can leave freely and in peace. And the Romanian military units, the artillery, and the tanks in the background began their retreat. The two opponents retreated in silence before the stronger could completely annihilate the other.

After the iron guard's defeat, one of the diplomats of the Hungarian embassy in Bucharest, perhaps an assistant or secretary of the military attache in one of the most confidential Hungarian military positions, pulled me aside in an unusual gesture to show me the emblem of the arrow-cross pinned inside his lapel, i.e., "secretly" worn over his heart. One cannot put too much emphasis on the single-person demonstration of a Hungarian diplomatic officer who had blue eyes, wavy hair, and was day-dreaming in his always elegant attire. The young nazi staff officer knew well that he was not risking anything, everyone thinks the way he does, but he had the attitude of "just to show them" which was scary. It was an open secret at the embassy that the nazis had already set up their nests everywhere, including the embassy.

But they still had to wait a year after the fascists in Bucharest cleared their own internal power structure. But it would be a mistake to think that Antonescu did not have to face, in addition to the iron guard, Romanian opponents of internal policies similar to the Imredy-type currents. In Romania, too, there were promising and determined opportunistic politicians coming to the fore at the side, and behind, professor Cuza. There was George Bratianu, the light of the middle-class right-wing's eyes with his own party, and there were "renowned" non-party personalities of the right-wing leadership. There was an extremist paper, almost identical to the STURMER, and there was a more serious one, a parasite of the German brand, with radical policies. They received ready-made articles and daily arguments from Berlin. But Hitler's group took an open stand when the iron guard, its terror organization in Romania, was in danger. This terror organization played the role of the fifth column of internal policies. The others could be, at the most, only instruments of blackmail.

Antonescu did not have to be afraid anymore of political blackmail, for he had eliminated Hitler's fifth column in Romania although the iron guard was not totally liquidated: its leaders escaped and took refuge in various fascist countries. A middle-class, ultranationalistic opposition of the Imredy type could not do more in Romania than giving up hope against Antonescu who was the sole possessor of political and military power that Hitler could no longer exploit for petty ends. Hitler also had to realize that, from that point on, he could not count on anyone else in Romania but Antonescu, but he was pleased to see that the Romanian dictator fanatically hated the Soviet Communist regime and, in general, every left-winged trend; this was a basic condition for the nazis' trust.

Of course, if Hitler compared Horthy and Antonescu in this regard, neither one of them was superior than the other. He was sure (at least as long as the german army was able to handle it) that neither one of them would give up an inch when it came to their political convictions regarding the socialist ideals.

However, this Hungarian-Romanian comparison, even beyond personal references, played an important role to the end. The future of both Hungary and Romania depended on Hitler's relationship with Horthy and Antonescu; personal sympathy could not play a role in this. It is well-known historical fact that Hitler did not hesitate to use anything to play off one against the other. In this regard, Antonescu's fanaticism weighed no more than Horthy's political past and present. At decisive moments, Hitler himself could see how ambiguously Horthy "toyed" with the idea of pulling out (which also applied to Antonescu towards the end of the war); although at last the regent tried to pull it through, it was after the Romanians had already pulled out and it was still done in the manner of an undecisive German ally so as to avoid Berlin's accusation of "perfidy".

It was enough for the Fuhrer to intervene only once at a time to "force" Hungary's regent to comply precisely. This is what happened on 19 March 1944, and nothing but this could have happened on 15 October 1945. [correctly, 15 October 1944] The question which Hitler cannot answer anymore is, why he waited with Horthy's deposal until 15 October, after Romania's pull-out.

But, as it was apparent from the events, Hitler did not risk much. One could say that Romania's success in pulling out was tantamount to his success in hindering Horthy's pull-out.

Those who closely observed the events in Romania would be right in assuming that Hitler's men learned two lessons from the case of the iron guard. On the one hand, they did not insist that the Hungarian nazi organization, which was identical to the iron guard, should seize power against Horthy who was still at their heels. Such a step, if immature, would have disrupted Hungary's economy and its sources that were still functioning; this danger had already presented itself in Romania before the campaign against the Soviet Union. On the other hand, they learned what mistakes were made in organizing and implementing the iron guard's 1940 "rebellion". They probably remembered that it was the Romanian army that stood in the way of the iron guard when it wanted to depose Antonescu and that the presence of German "elite" troops in Romania did not make any difference.

The value of this lesson is not lessened by the fact that the Romanian dictator, in spite of his Germanophile concepts of satellite policies, was forced to wipe the iron guard out of his way, as we have seen. Thus he created a clean situation in his own yard, pulling out in time the poisonous tooth which could have played the same role in defiling the Romanian royal state power and the army staff and in guarding the Germans' "ultimate" interests as was done in Hungary by Szalasi's group against the Horthy regime.

Of course even after the defeat of the iron guard, Antonescu had to remain in Hitler's shadow but not anymore as a subordinate but rather as a sincere ally. As the unrestrained ruler of his country, he was able and willing to use his pro-nazi staff and his country's chauvinistic-nationalistic trends to play the role assigned to Romania in helping the German army to open its eastern front. Hitler's price for this association was the sacrificing of the iron guard, his striking force in Romania. The scattered, unarmed organization was unable to do anything anymore.

And this is the place to mention, for a comparison, that, as the example of Romania showed in the winter of 1940-41, the total liquidation of the arrow-cross party and its permanent elimination from the political foreground would not have been seriously hindered in Hungary, either by Hitler's persistence or by a strong opposition by internal pro-German forces (at that time Horthy had the entire army at his disposal, and no one could have disobeyed an order made by the "supreme commander"). But for this a glance at the other side of the border would have been in order. However, no one glanced back at Bucharest after the Vienna decision, and no one thought that there were any reasons to do so.

We are not trying here to set up a valid theory but it is sometimes admissible in history to play with the "if", even if it is only for drawing certain conclusions.

In the course of the war when at the side of the Communist party other middle-class nationalist parties were urging for closer ties with the allies and when the Germans were just as aware of Bucharest's secret talks as of Budapest's attempts Antonescu's fanaticism in itself would not have been enough in Romania

for the so-called second team, which was already assembling in the royal palace, to make preparations in this situation. For the success of the deception, Antonescu's autocracy--and the resulting respect he enjoyed in his internal policy, acknowledged even by Hitler--was needed against the extreme right-wing. The same kind of respect, of course, which made it possible for him, even without the iron guard, to lead his whole country and the entire army into the campaign against the Soviet Union on Hitler's side.

And, let us add, again for comparison, that Horthy's regime, in view of Bardossy's stupidity, needed the pseudo-bombing of Kassa to explain to the public and the army why Hungary had to enter the war.

This was the point where the Romanian dictator became the bugaboo of the Horthy regime in the nazi grip, as long as he remained in power. And, behind Antonescu, the royal palace, the selected generals, and the known and unknown members of the middle-class nationalist faction were able to prepare for the change of sides which was announced by and coordinated with the king's radio speech of 23 August 1944 and was well organized according to the conditions of a popular anti-fascist armed uprising.

Contrary to biased views, the experiences regarding Romania's changing sides include details which may lead to an acceptable evaluation in the neighborly relationship between the Romanian and Hungarian peoples. An adequate perspective (40 years) may put the balance straight against possibly diverging appearances.

In listening to Romanian king Mihai's proclamation on the radio in the evening of 23 August 1944 in Istanbul, it was a special surprise (in the interest of authenticity) to recognize the voice of the young monarch: it was the same characteristic labored speech of the crown-prince of 10 years earlier, still a child then.

The news of the change of side as a fact had the effect of a pleasantly exciting surprise, for it meant that Hungary now had a better opportunity to do the same. The fresh commentaries of that time also stressed that Romania chose the right time for the pull-out, for the Soviet army arrived to Romanian territories at Iasi and there was nothing much the Germans could do against the Romanian army. Hitler's surprise was complete when the young Romanian monarch (who, actually, was put on the throne by Antonescu) invited the dictator for a meeting in his palace and then simply arrested him. Supposedly, Berlin still had some trust in the latter, for he would have allegedly rather changed his country to a theater of war instead of surrendering it to the Red Army. Antonescu's arrest made it possible to effectively implement the about-face that was planned ahead of time.

What could the defeated Romanian army, already running and bleeding from 1000 wounds, have done when received the royal order to go over the other side, when the opportunity for it existed? How could it have expressed its willingness to go over to the victor's side so that the danger of a certain annihilation in the hopeless effort of opposing the overpowering Soviet force when it had already reached Romania, could be avoided? How could it have expressed its willingness to listen as one man to the speech of the same king



who previously sent it to the "holy war"? How could it have expressed its consent when the word Communist, already dominant, demanded this step as the only possibility to save the country?

If posterity will find the answers to these questions as well in the remembrances, it will perhaps be able to completely clarify the relationship between cause and effect. It is an objective fact not to be disregarded, for instance, that it was Romania, thanks to its geographical location, that was reached first by the liberating Red Army. Antonescu's downfall upset the balance that Hitler found harder and harder to maintain, in the interest of the Third Empire, through threats and promises made to the two competing heads of state. And, finally, the Romanian army did not change in its views and composition (even considering the Communist agitation that was gaining strength) just because of a single royal word, despite the old misbeliefs. As a result of decisive Soviet military successes, it became urgent for the royal supreme commander (and his new cabinet) to make use of the opportunity for changing sides which also meant the prolongation of the monarchy. The army's supreme commander remained king both before and after the turn of events (for 3 more years, up until the proclamation of the republic) in spite of the radical democratization that began right away. This army did not change even when, as certain evaluations remind us, "Fighting against Horthy's fascist troops, it liberated Northern Transylvania" and when it later helped the Soviet troops in their fight that also included Hungary's liberation.

It is the responsibility of the historians (and not that of those who are paying a tribute) to show to what extent Hitler compensated (in time and killing) for the losses caused by Romania's pull-out in his battles in Hungary, including their prolongation by instantly suppressing Horthy's pull-out.

Neither of the two peoples can call each other's army a fascist when both got out of the squeeze of the same satellite-shoe as best as they could. Neither one of them may forget that their liberation was carried out by the same Red Army which was from the beginning of the war fighting alone on the entire eastern front, defending its country and driving back the ruthless nazi enemy.

A wound of war (and how many wounds this war caused) can finally heal only if it is cleansed of all impurities it hides.

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BULGARIA

FAMILY CODE APPROVED BY NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON 17 MAY 1985

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 29 May 1985 (special supplementary page)

[Supplement: "Family Code"]

[Text] Approved by the Eighth National Assembly at its Nineteenth session which took place on 17 May 1985. The code enters into effect on 1 July 1985 and replaces the Family Code dating from 1968.

Introduction

The contemporary Bulgarian family is heir to rich national traditions and ... is developing under the fruitful influence of radical changes in all spheres of public life following the victory of the socialist revolution of the Ninth of September and the universal, transfiguring force of the Leninist April general line of the party. During the years of national power, a new type of family has been developing here whose moral ... and social vitality ... toward the fundamental principles of the socialist way of life: certain rights and duties of ... the selfless cares of the rearing and education of children, the meaning of human worth of all members of the family, the endeavors for general and personal welfare of all members of the family; mutual spiritual enrichment between spouses and between the various generations of relations; uniting the interests of the family and society.

A fundamental function of the socialist family is the rearing and education of children as honest, diligent, ideologically and politically mature citizens of the new society, infinitely loyal to our fatherland - the National Republic of Bulgaria.

The contemporary Bulgarian family is a fundamental cell of socialist society, in which the vitally important needs of both its members and society are satisfied. The well-being, ... warmth and spiritual wealth of the family hearth, the cares and joys at birth, the rearing and education of the new generations of Bulgarians are fundamental demands for the subsequent prosperity of the Bulgarian nation. Concern for and protection of society and the state, their material, spiritual and legal guarantees and support are fundamental conditions for the stability and well-being of the contemporary family.

Under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the April policy of ensuring still more favorable conditions for a happy family life is being fulfilled. This is a policy of encouraging motherhood, birth and the rearing and education of more children. The policy gives preference to children and those growing up by defending their interests and, at the same time, demanding of the young generations that they fulfil their duty to adults and society.

In the process of building an advanced socialist society, the strongly prevailing trend is for the family to become, above all, a center for spiritual communion between spouses, between relatives and children, where, in an environment of reciprocity and spiritual unity, the spiritual, ideological, political and ethical values of our society are adopted, passed down and enriched, and emerging difficulties are overcome to the mutual benefit of all. Contacts are increasingly being extended between families, social organizations and working collectives. The criteria and motives of conduct within the family and in public work are drawing closer together.

The contemporary family is establishing its socialist image and increasingly cleansing itself of spiritual and moral anachronisms by struggling against them.

The family's obligations toward society grow with the increasing concerns of the party and state for the family and the individual. The socialist legal system guarantees the fulfilment of these mutual obligations and defends the family and its members against violations of the principles and foundations upon which family and personal happiness and welfare are built.

The social purpose of the Family Code is to consolidate the progressive changes that have occurred in the Bulgarian family and to promote the subsequent perfection of family relations and relations between society and the family in the National Republic of Bulgaria.

## General Principles

### Object

Article 1. The Family Code establishes relationships based on marriage, kinship, adoption, guardianship and trusteeship.

### Objectives

Article 2. The objectives of this code are: protection and consolidation of the family; the many-faceted development of the individual; the universal protection of children and their education in allegiance to the homeland and active participation in the construction of the socialist society; development of mutual assistance, devotion and respect between all members of the family and their education in a feeling of responsibility toward the family and society; protection of the rights and interests of those placed under guardianship and trusteeship.

Article 3. Family relations are established in accordance with the following principles: protection of marriage and the family by the state and society; equality of husband and wife, a voluntary and lasting marriage union as the basis of the family; universal protection of children; equality of children born within wedlock, outside of wedlock and adopted; respect for the individual; care and support between members of the family.

#### Functions of the Family

Article 4. The fundamental functions of the socialist family are: birth, rearing and education of children, ensuring opportunities for all members of the family to develop their abilities and conditions for them to fulfil their work and social obligations; creation within the family of relationships built on respect, devotion, friendship, ... responsibility for its development; taking care of the spiritual and material needs of the elderly, the ill and incapacitated members of the family.

#### Protection of the Family

Article 5. Socialist society and the state ensure conditions for the development of the family, encourage birth, defend and encourage motherhood and assist parents in rearing and educating children. They take care to prepare young people for married life.

#### The Contract Of Marriage

##### Civil Marriage

Article 6. (1) Only civil marriage, contracted in the form prescribed in this code, gives rise to the consequences which the laws connect with marriage.

(2) A religious ceremony may be held after the civil marriage has been concluded. This ceremony has no legal effect.

##### Consent of Parties to the Marriage

Article 7. Marriage is contracted upon the mutual consent of a man and woman, given personally and simultaneously before a registrar.

##### Documents Required for the Contract of Marriage

Article 8. Those wishing to enter into marriage declare this at the municipal people's council. Each of them makes a declaration that there exist no obstacles to contracting the marriage, as laid down in articles 12 and 13, and produces medical evidence that (s)he is not suffering from the diseases indicated in article 13, paragraph 1, items 2 and 3.

## Place of Contracting Marriage

Article 9 (1) The marriage is contracted publicly and officially in the municipal people's council.

(2) If, for valid reasons, one of the parties entering into marriage is unable to appear at the people's council, the marriage may be contracted elsewhere at the discretion of the registrar.

## Order of the Contract of Marriage

Article 10 (1) The marriage is contracted no earlier than 30 days after the declaration at the municipal people's council. If there are important, pressing reasons, the marriage may be constructed earlier upon the authorization of the registrar.

(2) The registrar verifies the identity and age of the parties, their declarations and medical evidence. If there are no obstacles to entering into marriage, the registrar asks the parties whether they are willing to enter into marriage with one another and, after a positive reply, draws up the marriage certificate which is signed by the parties, two witnesses and himself.

(3) The marriage is considered contracted when the certificate has been signed by the marriage parties and the registrar.

## Family Name of the Spouses

Article 11. When the marriage certificate is drawn up, both parties entering into marriage state whether they will keep their family name or take the family name of their spouse, or add the family name of the spouse to their own. For the family name, one can take or add the name by which the the other spouse is known in public.

## Age at which Marriage may be Contracted

Article 12 (1) Marriage may be contracted by a person who has completed his 18th birthday.

(2) By exception, if there are valid reasons, a person may contract marriage upon completion of his 16th birthday, with the authorization of the president of the district court of the individual's place of residence. If both parties entering into marriage are minors and from different districts, permission is given by the president of the district court of the place of residence of one of the parties, at their choice. The president hears the minor, his parents or his guardian. The opinion of the parents or guardian may be given in a notarized letter.

(3) Upon entering into marriage, the minor becomes responsible before the law, but he may dispose of real estate only with the permission of the district court of his place of residence.

Article 13 (1) A person may not contract marriage who is:

1. bound by another marriage;
2. placed in total confinement or suffering from mental illness or imbecility, which are grounds for placing him in total confinement;
3. suffering from a disease that represents a serious danger to life and health of the offspring or the other spouse, unless the disease is dangerous only to the other spouse and he is aware of it.

(2) The following may not contract marriage with each other:

1. relatives by direct line;
2. brothers and sisters, their children and other relations by collateral line, up to and including the fourth degree.
3. persons between whom adoption creates relationships of relatives by direct line and of brother and sister.

#### Relationships Between Spouses

##### Equality between Spouses

Article 14. Spouses have equal rights and obligations in the marriage.

##### Reciprocity between Spouses

Article 15. The relationships between spouses are built on a foundation of mutual respect, common concerns for the family, understanding and ....

##### Joint Living of Spouses

Article 16. The spouses live together unless compelling reasons oblige them to live apart.

##### Freedom of Choice of Profession

Article 17. Each spouse is at liberty to choose a profession.

##### Concern for the Family

Article 18. The spouses are obliged by mutual agreement and joint effort, and according to their means, property and income, to ensure the welfare of the family and to care for the rearing, education and maintenance of the children.

##### Joint Property of Spouses

Article 19 (1) Belongings, the right to belongings, and bank deposits acquired by the spouses during the time of marriage as a result of joint efforts belong jointly to both spouses, irrespective of the name in which they are earned.

(2) The joint contribution of the spouses may be expressed in .... of resources and labor, in caring for children and household work.

(3) Joint contribution is assumed unless there is evidence to the contrary.

## Personal Property

Article 20. (1) Belongings, the right to belongings, and bank deposits acquired before marriage, and belongings, the right to belongings and bank deposits acquired during the time of marriage through inheritance or gift, belong to the spouse who acquired them. Belongings, and the right to belongings acquired by one spouse by order of the Civil Procedure Code are also personal when compulsory fulfilment of a personal obligation of the other spouse concerns belongings and the right to belongings that are the joint property of the spouses.

(2) Movable belongings, acquired by one spouse during the time of the marriage, which serve for normal personal use or for the practice of a profession, are personal.

## Transformation of Personal Property

Article 21 (1) Belongings, the right to belongings, and bank deposits acquired during the time of the marriage entirely with personal property, as defined in article 20, paragraph 1, or with other personal property, acquired before the marriage, are personal.

(2) If belongings, the right to belongings, and bank deposits are acquired in partly with personal property, according to the preceeding paragraph, the spouse's personal ownership corresponds to the part acquired, unless this part is insignificant.

## Control and Disposition of Joint Property

Article 22 (1) The spouses have equal rights to possession, use, disposition and control of joint belongings and rights to belongings. As long as the marriage lasts, neither of the spouses may dispose of ... which he would receive from .... Each of the spouses may exercise control over joint belongings and rights to belongings.

(2) Disposition of jointly-owned movable belongings and real estate, and rights to them, to them, is exercised jointly by both spouses.

(3) Disposition of jointly-owned real estate, and rights to such real estate

(4) Disposition of jointly-owned movable belongings by a sale transaction, executed by one spouse without the knowledge of the other spouse, is invalid for that spouse if the third party is ... or if, given the circumstances, he could have known that the other spouse was not in agreement. In case of disposal of jointly-owned movable belongings as a gift, the preceeding paragraph applies.

(5) Bank deposits are disposed of by the spouse in whose name they were opened. When the action of disposal ... the interests of the family or the other spouse, at his request ... it may be decreed that these actions must be executed upon joint agreement of both spouses.

## Disposition of the Family Home - Personal Property

Article 23 When the family home is the personal property of one of the spouses, he may dispose of it only with the agreement of the other spouse. If agreement is lacking, he may dispose of it upon the authorization of the district court only if it can be established that ... of the children and the family.

## Disposition of Personal Property

Article 24. Each of the spouses may dispose of his personal property as regards third parties and as regards the other spouse.

## Expenses and Debts on behalf of the Family

Article 25 (1) Expenses to satisfy the needs of the family are assumed by both spouses.

(2) For debts that one or both spouses have incurred to satisfy the needs of the family, they are jointly liable.

## Suspension of Joint Ownership

Article 26. (1) Joint ownership is terminated upon the death of one spouse, upon divorce or upon annulment of the marriage.

(2) Joint ownership may be also be terminated by court order during the time of the marriage if there are compelling reasons.

(3) Compulsory forfeiture of individual belongings which are joint spousal property for the personal debt of one of the spouses terminates joint ownership of the belongings.

## Portions of the Spouses

Article 27. Upon termination of joint property, the portions of the spouses are equal.

## Apportionment of a Larger Portion to a Spouse

Article 28. (1) Upon termination of joint property due to divorce, the court may rule that a larger portion of the joint property be assigned to the spouse to whom the rearing and education of minor children falls if that creates particular difficulties for him.

(2) The spouse to whom the rearing and education of minor children falls receives, in addition to his portion, the movable belongings which are intended for their rearing and education.

(3) Upon termination of joint property due to divorce or according to Article 26, paragraph 2, the court may apportion a greater portion of the joint property to one spouse if his contribution to the acquisition is significantly greater than the contribution of the other spouse.

#### Receipt of a Portion of Personal Property

Article 29 At the time of divorce, each of the spouses has the right to receive a part of the value of belongings of the other spouse used to exercise a profession, and of moneys due to the other spouse, acquired during the time of the marriage, if these are of significant value and if he contributed to their acquisition by his efforts, resources or work in the household. This action may also be brought before the divorce if the conduct of the spouse who has acquired the property puts the interests of the other spouse or children at risk.

#### Time for Bringing Action

Article 30. Action, according to Article 28, paragraph 3, and Article 29, may be brought up to one year after the divorce or termination of joint property and, according to Article 26, paragraph 1 and 2, from the entry into effect of parental rights.

#### Parentage

##### Parentage by the Mother

Article 31 (1) Parentage by the mother is determined at birth. This is valid even when the child is conceived with genetic material from another woman.

(2) Parentage by the mother, established at the act of birth, may be contested by a suit, filed by the child, by the woman indicated in the certificate as mother, by her husband, by the woman who claims to be the mother of the child and by the man who claims that the child was born to his wife.

(3) As parties to the case are summoned the husband of the mother, the husband of the other party that contests the parentage and, in every case, the child.

##### Parentage by the Father

Article 32 (1) The husband of the mother is considered the father of the child born during the time of the marriage or within thirty days of the divorce.

(2) If the child is born before the thirty-day period has expired but after the mother has remarried, the husband of the mother by the new marriage is considered the father of the child.

(3) In the case of declared absence of the husband, the assumptions made in paragraph 1 and 2 do not apply if the child is born after the expiration of



thirty days from the date of the last news of the husband and, in the case of an announced death - from the date of the assumed death.

#### Contesting Paternity

Article 33 (1) The husband of the mother may dispute that he is the father of the child if he proves that the child could not have been engendered by him. This suit may be filed upto one year after learning of the birth.

(2) The mother may dispute that the husband is father of the child if she proves that the child could not have been conceived of him. This suit may be filed upto one year after the birth.

(3) In case of Article 32, paragraph 2, if the dispute on behalf of the second husband is upheld, the first husband is considered the father of the child, and he may file suite to contest paternity upto one year after learning of the decision, but no later than three years from its entry into effect.

(4) Dispute of paternity is not permitted if, with the written consent of her husband, given before the director of the appropriate institution, the mother is artificially inseminated or bears a child conceived with the genetic material of another woman.

#### Parties to a Paternity Suit

Article 34. The parties summoned in a paternity suit are: the mother, the child and the husband; and if the paternity suit is filed by the second husband, the first husband is summoned as a party.

#### Acknowledgement

Article 35. Every capable parent is able to acknowledge his own child. Both conceived children and dead children that are ... may be acknowledged.

#### Form of Acknowledgement

Acknowledgement is made personally in a written statement before the registrar or in a notarized declaration submitted to the registrar. The declaration may also be submitted through the director of the institution in which the child is born.

#### Contestation of Acknowledgement by Other Parent and by the Child

Article 37 (1) The registrar communicates the contestation to the other parent, if he is known, and to the child, if he is of age. If, within a three-month period of the communication, these persons do not contest the acknowledgement in a written statement to the registrar, the acknowledgement is entered in the birth certificate.

(2) If acknowledgement is contested, the person who acknowledges the child may file suit to establish parentage within a three-month period of receipt of the communication.

(3) If upon acknowledgement the child is not of age, he may contest it up to a period of three years after he becomes of age or after he learns of the acknowledgement if this occurs later. If the suit is upheld, acknowledgement is deleted from the birth certificate.

#### Contestation of Acknowledgement by Third Persons

Article 38. In addition to the cases according to the preceeding paragraph, acknowledgement may be contested by any person who has a legal interest filing suit within a one-year period of learning [of the acknowledgement].

#### Nullification of Acknowledgement

Article 39. The person acknowledged may request nullification of the acknowledgement because of errors or deception within a one-year period of the acknowledgement; in cases of menace, within a one-year period of cessation of menace, and in case of incapacity within a one-year period of becoming incapacitated.

#### Suit to Establish Parentage through the Mother

Article 40. Parentage through the mother may be sought by a suit filed by the child, the mother or the father. The husband of the mother, who would be considered father of the child according to Article 32, is summoned as defendant.

#### Suit to Establish Parentage through the Father

Article 41. Parentage through the father may be sought by a suit filed by the child, within a three-year period of becoming of age and by the mother, within a three-year period of the birth of the child. When the suit is filed by the child, the mother is also summoned.

#### Parental Rights upon Establishment of Parentage by Filing Suit

Article 42. When the court upholds suits according to Articles 40 and 41, it officially decrees the limits for exercising parental rights and determines the personal relations between the child and the parents, and his support in accordance with Article 106.

#### Obstacles to Establishing Parentage

Article 43. A suit to establish parentage may not be filed and acknowledgement may not be accomplished until the ... parentage established in the birth certificate has been refuted in a suit under the assumptions in Article 32 or by acknowledgement. The two suits may be combined.

## Suits By and Against Heirs

Article 44. (1) Heirs do not have the right to file suits ... in this chapter, but they may pursue the case ... their suit.

(2) When a father or mother has died, the suit to establish or dispute parentage is filed against their heirs.

## Time

Article 45. The time [for instituting proceedings] according to this chapter are enforced officially and are not subject to stays and interruptions.

## Relationship

### Relationship by Direct and Collateral Lines

Article 46. (1) Relationship by direct line is the connection between two persons, one of whom descends directly or indirectly from the other.

(2) Relationship by collateral line is the connection between two persons who have a common ancestor without one of them descending from the other.

### Degrees of Relationship

Article 47. (1) Between two direct-line relations, there are as many degrees as there are generations.

(2) Between two collateral-line relations, there are as many degrees as there are generations from one of them to the common ancestor and from the latest to the other relative.

### Relationship by Marriage

Article 48 (1) The relations of one spouse are relations by marriage for the other spouse and for his relations.

(2) In the line and degree to which a person is related to a spouse, he is related by marriage to the other spouse.

(3) The degree of relationship by marriage between the relations of one spouse and the relations of the other spouse is determined by adding the degrees of relationship between one spouse and his relatives and the other spouse and his relatives.

(4) The spouses of two brothers or the spouses of two sisters are related by marriage in the second degree.

(5) Relationship by marriage is of legal significance only in cases where the law has made provision.

## Adoption

### Age of Adoption

Article 49. Only persons who have not completed their eighteenth birthday at the time of submission the request for adoption may be adopted.

### Adoption

Article 50. Only a capable person who has not been deprived of parental rights may adopt.

### Difference in Age

Article 51. The adoptor must be at least 15 years older than the adoptee. Difference in age will be ... when a spouse adopts the birth child of his spouse. When adoption is completed simultaneously or consecutively by two spouses and for one of them the difference in age is fulfilled, such a difference is not demanded of the other spouse.

### Prohibition of Adoption between Relations

Article 52 (1) Adoption is not permitted between direct-line relations and between brothers and sisters.

(2) The grandfather and grandmother, or one of them, may adopt their grandchild only when he is born outside of wedlock or when both or one of his parents have died. In cases of adoption, the court will hear the other grandfather and grandmother.

(3) Upon request for adoption of a grandchild by the grandfather and grandmother, on both the mother's side and the father's side, the court judges the issue with a view to the interests of the child.

### Prohibition of Adoption by Two Persons

Article 53 (1) No-one may be adopted simultaneously by two persons unless they are spouses.

(2) Noone may be adopted a second time unless the existing adoption is terminated. This prohibition does not apply with respect to the spouse of the adoptive parent.

### Consent to Adoption

Article 54 (1) The consent of [the following] is necessary for adoption:

1. the adoptor;
2. the parents of the adoptee;
3. the spouses of the adoptor and adoptee;
4. the adoptee, if he has completed his 14th birthday.

(2) The consent of the persons is not required if they are incapacitated or if their place of residence is unknown.

(3) When the child is left to be reared in a public institution and his parents have given prior consent to his adoption or are unknown, the director of the institution gives consent.

#### Opinion on Adoption

Article 55 (1) The adoptee between ten and fourteen years of age is heard by the court unless there is sufficient evidence that he considers the adoptor his parent.

(2) The guardian, trustee and parents and spouses placed in limited confinement, or deprived of parental rights, give an opinion on the adoption.

#### Form of Consent and Opinion

Article 56 (1) Consent of the adoptee must be given in person before the court.

(2) Consent of the adoptor, of the parents of the adoptee and the spouses of the adoptor and adoptee, and also the opinion of the parents of the spouses placed in limited confinement, or deprived of parental rights, and of the guardian or trustee, may be given before the court in person or in a notarized letter or by special proxy. The court may summon and hear some of these people when it finds this necessary.

(3) The director of the public institution may give written consent without having his signature verified by a notary.

#### Adoption without Consent of the Parent

Article 57 (1) By exception, adoption is permitted without the parent's consent if he constantly provides no care for the child, provides no maintenance or rears and educates him in a manner damaging to his development.

(2) Adoption without the consent of the parent is permitted when he has left the child to be reared in a public institution and has not claimed him in a one-year period from the day when he should have collected him. In this case the director of the institution gives consent.

(3) In the cases presented in the preceding paragraphs, the parent is summoned to be heard by the court.

#### Jurisdiction

Article 58 (1) Request for adoption is heard at the district court.

(2) The district court gathers information concerning the adoptee and the adoptor from the municipal council of their place of residence and decides from that [information] whether adoption is in the interests of the adoptee.

Information concerning the child is not gathered when the child is taken from a public institution.

#### Judgement on the Request for Adoption

Article 59 (1) After hearing the conclusion of the district attorney, the district court pronounces its verdict at a court sitting behind closed doors.  
(2) Adoption is permitted only if it is in the interests of the adoptee.

#### Appeal against the Verdict

Article 60. The verdict of the district court may be appealed through normal channels by the district attorney or by the persons listed in Article 54, paragraph 1, items 1, 2 and 4.

#### Full Adoption

Article 61 (1) When the adoptee is a child of unknown parents or has been left in a public institution with consent to adoption, or has been adopted under the conditions of Article 57, paragraph 2, rights and obligations like those between birth relations arise between the adoptee and his descendants, on the one hand, and the adoptive parent and his relations on the other hand. But the rights and obligations between the adoptee and his descendants and his birth relations are terminated. The same consequences of full adoption ensue when persons, as indicated in Article 54, paragraph 1, give their consent for this. In these cases, the obstacles to contracting marriage because of birth, according to Article 13, paragraph 2, items 1 and 2 are not removed.

(2) The district court decrees that a new birth certificate be drawn up in which the adoptive parent is described as a parent. The certificate is drawn up by the municipal council in the place of residence of the adoptive parent.

#### Partial Adoption

Article 62. Beyond the cases mentioned in the preceeding article, adoption is partial, and the rights and obligations that exist between relations by birth arise only between the adoptee and his descendants, on the one hand, and the adoptive parent on the other hand; the rights and obligations between the adoptee and his descendants and their relations by birth are preserved. In this [type of] adoption, parental rights and obligations are transferred to the adoptive parent, and the birth parents do not inherit the adoptee.

#### Adoption by the Spouse of a Parent

Article 63. In cases of adoption, according to Articles 61 and 62, by the spouse of a parent, the rights and obligations are preserved between this parent and his relatives, on the one hand, and the adoptee and his descendants, on the other hand.

#### Termination of Adoption

Article 64 (1) Adoption is terminated by the court:

1. in case of nullification due to violation of Articles 49, 51 and 52, paragraphs 1 and 2; Articles 53 and 54, paragraph 1, items 1, 2 and 4 and paragraph 3; and Article 57, paragraph 2;

2. upon mutual consent of the adoptive parent and the adoptee, when both are capable;

3. in cases of serious offence by one party or in cases of the existence of other circumstances which deeply disturb relations between the adoptive parent and the adoptee.

(2) Suit for nullification of adoption on account of violation of Article 54, paragraph 1, items 1, 2 and 4 may be filed by the adoptive parent and the parents of the adoptee within a one-year period of the knowledge [of the violation], and by the adoptee when he has become of age.

(3) Beyond the cases mentioned in the preceeding paragraph, termination of adoption according to paragraph 1, item 1, may be requested by the adoptive parent, the adoptee and the parents of the adoptee, and according to paragraph 1, item 3, by the adoptive parent and the adoptee. If public interest is involved, termination of adoption may be requested by the district attorney.

(4) Participation of the district attorney is obligatory in cases of termination of adoption according to paragraph 1, items 1 and 3.

#### Termination of Adoption upon the Death of the Adoptive Parents

Article 65 (1) In cases of adoption according to Article 61, the court may terminate adoption upon the request of the adoptee, his parents, his guardian, his trustee or the district attorney if the only or both adoptive parents have died and it is important for the interests of the adoptee.

(2) In cases of adoption according to Article 62, if the only or both adoptive parents die, the adoption is considered terminated but the adoptee inherits the adoptive parent.

#### Continuation of the Case for Termination of Adoption

Article 66. When the death of the adoptive parent or the adoptee occurs during the procedure for termination of adoption according to Article 64, paragraph 1, items 1 and 2, the case may be continued by the descendants or by the district attorney. If the court upholds the suit, the guilty surviving adoptive parent or adoptee does not inherit the deceased.

#### Effect of Termination

Article 67. The effect of adoption ceases with its termination.

## Relations Between Parents and Children

### Care of Parents for Children

Article 68 (1) Parents are obliged to care for their children and to prepare them for socially useful activity.

(2) The second father and second mother are obliged to assist the parent in the fulfilment of these obligations.

### Obligations of Children toward Parents

Article 69 (1) Children are obliged to respect their parents and to help them. Children have the same obligation toward their second father and second mother.

(2) Children of legal age are obliged to care for their elderly, disabled or sick parents.

### Relations between Grandchildren and Grandfather and Grandmother

Article 70 (1) Grandchildren are obliged to respect their grandfather and grandmother and to help them.

(2) The grandfather and grandmother are entitled to personal relationships with grandchildren who have not reached legal age. If something stands in the way of maintaining personal relationships, the district court in the place of residence of the grandchildren decrees the limits of personal relationships at the request of the grandfather and grandmother, unless this is not in the interest of the children.

### Place of Abode of Children

Article 71 (1) Children who have not attained legal age are obliged to live with their parents unless important reasons compel them to live elsewhere. In cases of departure from this obligation, the district court in the place of residence of the parents will, at their request, and after hearing the child, if he has attained ten years of age, issue an order for his return to his parents. This order may be appealed before the president of the okrug court, but the appeal does not halt the execution. The order is executed through administrative channels.

(2) When the parents live apart and cannot reach an agreement as to which of them the children should live with, the dispute is settled by the district court in the place of residence of the children. The court hears the children if they have attained ten years of age. The judgement may be appealed in the usual way.

### Exercise of Parental Rights and Obligations



Article 72. Parental rights and obligations are exercised by both parents jointly and individually. In cases of disagreement between them the dispute is settled by the district court after it hears the parents and, if necessary, the child. The judgement may be appealed in the usual way.

#### Representation and Assistance from a Trustee

Article 73 (1) Each of the parents may represent his juvenile children alone and give consent for the legal actions of his minor children only in their interest.

(2) Expropriation of immovable and movable belongings, with the exception of fruit and belongings that are exposed to rapid deterioration, overloading them with burdens and generally committing acts of disposal that relate to the property of children who have not attained their majority, is permitted upon authorization of the district court in the place of residence only when necessary or when it is evidently in their interests.

(3) Gifts, giving up rights, extending a loan and securing foreign obligations through a deposit, mortgage or guarantee by minors are worthless. This does not refer to the transactions of a minor who has entered into marriage, for whom only the limits set out in Article 12, paragraph 3 are valid.

#### Restriction of Parental Rights

Article 74 (1) When the conduct of the parent represents a danger to the personality, education, health or property of the child, the district court, either officially or at the request of the other parent or the district attorney, takes the appropriate steps in the interest of the child, and, if necessary, moves him to a suitable home.

(2) Such steps are also taken when the parent is not in a condition to exercise his parental rights due to continuous physical or mental illness or due to continuous absence or other objective reasons.

#### Deprivation of Parental Rights

Article 75 (1) The parent may be deprived of parental rights:

1. in particularly serious cases, according to the preceeding paragraph;
2. when he constantly fails to care for the child or provide maintenance without good reason;
3. when he has left the child to be reared in a public institution and fails to fetch him within a one-year period from the day when he was due to collect him.

(2) The proceedings for deprivation of parental rights are instituted officially by the district court or at the request of the other parent or the district attorney. The case is examined in a suit with the participation of a jury.

(3) In the case brought, the district attorney and the parent whose deprivation of parental rights has been requested must be heard, unless the latter fails to appear without good reason.

#### Limits of Personal Relations

Article 76. In all cases of restriction or deprivation of parental rights, the court also decrees the limits of personal relations between the parents and the children.

#### Reversal of Restrictions and Reinstatement of Parental Rights

Article 77 (1) In a change of circumstances, the court may reverse the limits set in Articles 74, 75 and 76.

(2) The parent may ask the court to reinstate his parental rights if the grounds on which he was deprived of them are no longer valid.

#### Entry

Article 78. In cases of Article 75 and 77, the court officially informs the municipal council in the place of residence of the parent of the respective entry concerning the deprivation of parental rights or of the subsequent reinstatement.

#### Maintenance

##### Right to Maintenance

Article 79. Only a person who is disabled and cannot support himself from his estate is entitled to maintenance.

##### Order of Persons who Must Pay Maintenance

Article 80 (1) Persons who are entitled to maintenance may claim it in the following order:

1. from a spouse or former spouse;
2. from children;
3. from parents;
4. from grandchildren and great-grandchildren;
5. from brothers and sisters;
6. from grandfather and grandmother and from relatives of ascending line of a higher degree.

(2) If persons in the preceeding order are unable to provide maintenance, it must be paid by the person next in turn.

(3) When several persons from one and the same order must pay maintenance,

the obligations between them are apportioned according to their means. If maintenance is provided by one of them, he may claim from the others the amount that they were obliged to provide, plus interest.

#### Order of Persons who are Entitled to Maintenance.

Article 81. The individual with obligations to several persons who are entitled to maintenance must provide it in the following order:

1. to children, a spouse or former spouse;
2. to parents;
3. to grandchildren and great-grandchildren;
4. to brothers and sisters;
5. to grandfather and grandmother and ascendants of a higher degree.

#### Maintenance by Parents of Children who are Minors

##### Article 82

Parents owe maintenance to their children who are minors, irrespective of whether they are able-bodied and whether they may support themselves from their estate.

#### Maintenance of a Former Spouse

Article 83 (1) Only the spouse who is blameless in the divorce is entitled to maintenance.

(2) Maintenance is payable for at most three years from the dissolution of the marriage, unless the parties have agreed to a longer period. The court may extend these periods if the former spouse who is receiving the maintenance is in a particularly difficult situation and the other is able to provide it without particular difficulty.

(3) The former spouse's entitlement to maintenance ceases when he enters into marriage.

#### Amount of Maintenance

Article 84. The amount of maintenance is determined according to the needs of the person who is entitled to maintenance and the means of the person who must pay it.

#### Amount of Maintenance for Children who are Minors

Article 85 (1) The amount of maintenance that parents owe their children who are minors is determined in accordance with the needs of the children and the means of the parent, within limits established by the Council of Ministers.

(2) The court may set maintenance below the established maximum when:

1. the child is maintained by the state;
2. other important circumstances impose it.

(3) The court may set maintenance above the established maximum when exceptional needs of the child must be met and the parent may provide it without undue difficulty.

#### Modification and Termination of Maintenance

Article 86. In a change of circumstances, the awarded maintenance may be modified or suspended.

#### Retroactive Maintenance

Article 87. Retroactive maintenance may be claimed for a maximum of one year prior to the filing of a suit.

#### Refusal of Maintenance

Article 88. Refusal of maintenance for the future is worthless.

#### Payment of Financial Maintenance

Article 89. Financial maintenance is paid monthly. Late payment is charged a one percent monthly interest.

#### Prohibition of Charging

Article 90. Charging of money due is not permitted with obligation of maintenance.

#### Loss of Entitlement to Maintenance

Article 91. (1) A person may not claim maintenance if he has committed a serious offence against the person who owes the maintenance, against his spouse, descendant or ascendant.

(2) The preceeding stipulation does not apply to maintenance of children who have not yet attained sixteen years of age.

(3) A person deprived of parental rights is not exempt from the obligation to maintain his children. A person deprived of parental rights due to guilty conduct may not demand maintenance from his children.

#### Payment of Awarded Maintenance by the State

Article 92. When the responsible person does not provide the awarded maintenance, it is paid by the state on his behalf upon the conditions and order established by the decree issued by the Council of Ministers.

#### Receipt of Maintenance from the State

Article 93. According to the order of public assistance, the state assumes the care of the needy when there are no responsible persons, according to Article 80, or when they do not have the means to provide maintenance.

## Dissolution of Marriage

### Grounds

Article 94. Marriage is dissolved:

1. upon the death of either spouse;
2. upon annulment of the marriage;
3. upon divorce.

### Dissolution of Marriage upon Declaration of Death

Article 95 (1) When the death of one of the spouses is declared by the court, the marriage is dissolved with the entry into effect of the judgement.

(2) If it proves that the person declared dead is alive, the dissolved marriage is not reinstated.

### Grounds for Annulment of Marriage

Article 96 (1) Marriage is annulled when:

1. At its contraction Articles 12 and 13 were violated;
2. The person entering marriage was obliged to contract due to threats of serious and impending danger for his life or the life of persons close to him, their health or honor.

(2) No-one may refer to annulment of marriage unless it has been decreed by the court.

### Petition for Annulment of Marriage

Article 97. (1) A petition for dissolution of marriage may be brought:

1. upon violation of Article 12 - only by a husband who is a minor, no later than six months after achieving legal age, if there are no children from the marriage and the wife is not pregnant;
2. in the case of Article 96, paragraph 1, item 2 - only by the threatened spouse, no later than one year from the contraction of marriage;
3. in the case of Article 13, paragraph 1, item 1 - by either spouse, the district attorney and the spouse of the first marriage;
4. in the case of Article 13, paragraph 1, items 2 and 3, and paragraph 2 - by either spouse and the district attorney.

(2) Petition according to Article 13, paragraph 1, item 2, may be brought no later than six months after recovery or repeal of confinement.

(3) In case of violation of Article 13, paragraph 1, item 3, the marriage may not be annulled if the sick spouse has recovered.

(4) The district attorney may demand that the existence of grounds be established for the annulment of marriage contracted in violation of Article 13, paragraph 1, item 1, and after the death of one of the spouses.

(5) In case of bigamy, marriage may not be annulled if the first contracted marriage has been dissolved.

#### Consequences of Dissolution of Marriage

Article 98 (1) The decrees concerning the consequences of divorce for the personal and material relationships between spouses, and for the relationships between them and the children, also apply to annulment of marriage. Unconscientiousness in cases of annulment of marriage has the same significance as blame in divorce.

(2) Children conceived or born during the time of the annulled marriage are considered of the marriage and the assumptions of paternity according to Article 32 are valid for them.

#### Divorce due to Breakdown of the Marriage

Article 99 (1) Either spouse may petition for divorce when the marriage has profoundly and irretrievably broken down.

(2) With the judgement to permit divorce, the court officially announces the guilty party in the breakdown of the marriage, unless the breakdown is due to objective reasons for which the spouses may not be charged.

(3) The court does not pass judgement on the blame for the breakdown of the marriage if the spouses testify to this and give an account of their agreement regarding the exercise of parental rights, personal relationships with and maintenance of the children, and regarding material relationships, use of the family home, maintenance between them and the family name.

(4) Divorce is not permitted if the breakdown of the marriage is due only to guilty conduct of ... and the other spouse insists on preserving the marriage, unless there are important compelling circumstances that would permit divorce.

#### Divorce by Mutual Consent

Article 100 (1). In cases of serious and unflinching mutual consent of the spouses to divorce, the court permits divorce without enquiring into their motives for dissolution of the marriage.

(2) Petition for divorce by mutual consent may not be brought before three years have passed since contraction of the marriage.

#### Agreement of the Spouses in Cases of Divorce by Mutual Consent

Article 101 (1) In cases of divorce by mutual consent, the spouses must give an account of their agreement regarding the exercise of parental rights, personal relationships with and maintenance of the children, and regarding material relationships, use of the family home, maintenance between them and the family name. The agreement is confirmed by the court after it has verified that the interests of the children have been protected.

(2) If the agreement is incomplete or the interests of the children are not well protected, the court sets a period of time to correct the inadequacies of the agreement. When, within the given period of time, the inadequacies are not eliminated, the court throws out the petition for divorce.

(3) Petitions regarding the exercise of parental rights and maintenance of the children after dissolution of a marriage by mutual consent are admitted upon a change of circumstances.

#### Continuation of a Divorce Case by Descendants

Article 102 (1) The right to petition for divorce is not transferred to descendants. However, they may continue the process to establish the validity of the petition brought if it is based on the guilty conduct of the surviving spouse.

(2) The court throws out the petition if the surviving spouse is blameless for the breakdown of the marriage.

#### Family Name after Divorce

Article 103 (1) After the divorce, the court may rule that the spouse uses the name of the other spouse, if the latter agrees.

(2) If one spouse has become famous under the name of the other, the court may rule that he continues to use the same name.

(3) In case of a change of circumstances, the former spouse may request the other spouse to cease using his name.

Article 104. After the divorce, the former spouses are no longer legal inheritors of each other and lose all benefits ensuing from dispositions in case of death that were made previously. The same consequences ensue when the reason for the petition for divorce is established before the death of ... .

#### Rescindment of Gifts

Article 105 (1) After the divorce, gifts of property of significant value, made in connection with or during the time of the marriage from one spouse to the other or from his relatives, may be rescinded unless rescindment contradicts ... .

(2) Petition according to the preceeding paragraph may be brought within one year of the divorce.

#### Parental Rights after the Divorce

Article 106 (1) Upon granting the divorce, the court officially decrees to which of the spouses the exercise of parental rights is granted, decrees the limits regarding the exercise of these rights and regarding the personal relationships between the children and the parents and the maintenance of the

children.

(2) The court grants the exercise of parental rights after assessing all the circumstances with a view to the interests of the children. These rights may not be granted to the spouse who is the guilty party in the divorce if this would have a negative effect on the rearing and education of the children.

(3) The court hears the parents and children, if the children have attained fourteen years of age. If appropriate, the court also hears children who have attained ten years of age, and individuals close to the family.

(4) By exception, if the interests of the children are at cause, the court may rule that the children live with their grandfather, grandmother or other person, with their consent, or in the appropriate public institution.

(5) If circumstances change, at the request of one of the parents or officially, the court may alter the limits decreed earlier and establish new ones.

#### Concession of the Family Home after Divorce

Article 107 (1) Upon the judgement of divorce, the court concedes the use of the family home to one of the spouses when it cannot be used individually by both, taking into consideration the interests of the children, the blame, the hygienic condition, and other circumstances.

(2) When there are no minor children from the marriage and the family home is the property of the guilty spouse, the court may grant use to the blameless spouse only for a fixed period of time.

(3) When there are minor children from the marriage and the family home is the property of one spouse, the court may grant use to the other spouse to whom the exercise of parental rights has been granted, for as long as he exercises them.

(4) When there are minor children from the marriage and the family home is the property of a relative of one of the spouses, the court may grant it to the other spouse to whom the exercise of parental rights has been granted, for a fixed period.

(5) The use of the family home, according to paragraphs 2 to 4, is terminated before the expiration of this period if the person who has the use remarries.

(6) When there are minor children from the marriage, the court passes judgement on the use of the family home officially.



## Notice of Conduct of the Guilty Spouse

Article 108. When the marriage is dissolved on the blame of both spouses or of one of them, the court may, if it finds it necessary, send a copy of the judgement to the labor collective at the place of work of the guilty party or to the public organization in his place of residence.

## Guardianship and Trusteeship

### Conditions for Establishment

Article 109 (1) Guardianship is established over juveniles (children under the age of 14 years) whose parents are unknown, dead or deprived of parental rights. Guardianship is established also over persons placed in total confinement.

(2) Trusteeship is established over minors (children between the ages of 14 and 18), whose parents are unknown, dead or deprived of parental rights, and also over persons placed in limited confinement.

(3) Officials, public organizations and citizens, to whom it is made known that guardianship or trusteeship over a person is necessary, are obliged without delay to notify the municipal people's council in the place of residence or place of abode of the person in question.

### Official Responsible for Guardianship and Trusteeship

Article 110. The official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship is the president of the executive committee of the municipal people's council or an official appointed by him.

### Guardianship Council

Article 111 (1) The official for guardianship and trusteeship in the place of residence of the person in question appoints a guardian, an acting guardian and two advisors from among the relations and individuals close to the juvenile or person placed in total confinement, who will best care for his interests. They form the guardianship council.

(2) If possible, a person with pedagogical training is included in the composition of the guardianship council.

### Appointment of a Trustee

Article 112. The official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship appoints a trustee and acting trustee from among the relatives and persons close to the minor or the person placed in limited confinement who will most care for his interests.

## Changes in the Guardianship Council and the Trustees

Article 113 (1) The official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship may at any time make changes in the guardianship council and trustees when the interests of the juvenile, minor or person placed in confinement request such, when the obligations of guardianship or trusteeship are not fulfilled or when their fulfilment is exceptionally onerous due to age, illness, professional obligations, etc.

(2) Before pronouncing changes, according to the preceeding paragraph, the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship listens to the opinion of the individuals close to the person placed under guardianship or trusteeship.

## Protective Measures

Article 114 (1) Until the guardian or trustee has been appointed, the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship, either personally or through an appointed person, draws up an inventory of the property and takes other protective measures for the person and interests of the person who must be placed under guardianship or trusteeship. If necessary, he may entrust an appointed person to fulfil the function of guardian or trustee temporarily.

(2) When necessary, the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship may place the juvenile or minor in a public institution.

## Appeal against Actions

Article 115. Interested parties, or the district attorney, may appeal before the district court against the actions of the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship, and refusal to establish guardianship or trusteeship or to take other measures, provided for in this code. The district court will judge the case at point. The judgement of the district court may not be appealed.

## Persons who may not be Members of the Guardianship Council or Trustees

Article 116. The following may not be members of the guardianship council, trustees and acting trustees: incapable individuals, those deprived of parental rights, those convicted of serious deliberate crimes, and persons who due to illness, alcoholism, immoral life, self-seeking conduct, conflict of interests with the person placed under guardianship or trusteeship, or other reasons, are not in a situation to fulfil the functions of guardian or trustee.

## Rights and Obligations of the Guardian

Article 117. (1) The activity of guardian is honorary.

(2) The guardian is obliged to take care of the person placed under his guardianship, to manage his property and to represent him before third parties. He is obliged to care for the rearing, education and training of the minor.

(3) The guardian is obliged to inform the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship within one month of property of significant value acquired after the establishment of guardianship. This is entered into the inventory.

#### Actions of Stewardship

Article 118. (1) In case of disposition of property of the person under guardianship, Article 73, paragraphs 2 and 3 are enforced. Authorization by the district court is required for withdrawal of sums from the person's bank account.

(2) The guardian submits the opinion of the guardianship council with the request for authorization.

#### Obligation to Deposit Financial Resources

Article 119. The guardian is obliged to deposit in a bank the financial resources of the person under guardianship in the name of that person. For late deposits he must pay one percent interest per month.

#### Place of Residence of the Person Placed under Guardianship

Article 120. (1) The person placed under guardianship lives with the guardian, unless important reasons compel him to live elsewhere.

(2) When the place of residence is changed without the consent of the guardian, he may request the district court to issue an order for the return of the person placed under guardianship to his designated place of residence. This order may be appealed before the president of the okrug court, but the appeal does not halt the execution. The order is executed through administrative channels.

#### Advisors on the Guardianship Council

Article 121. The advisors assist the guardian and the acting guardian in the fulfilment of their obligations and inform the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship about failures in the rearing and education of the minor and in the safeguarding of the rights and interests of the person placed under guardianship. They listen to the account of the guardian and participate in his meeting with the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship.

#### Rights and Obligations of Trustee

Article 122. (1) The activity of trustee is honorary.

(2) The trustee is responsible to care for the person placed under trusteeship and for safeguarding his interests. He gives consent for the legal action of the latter. He is obliged to care for the rearing, education and training of the juvenile.

(3) The rules of Article 117, paragraph 3, Article 118, paragraph 1 and

Article 120 apply respectively to trusteeship. The withdrawal of sums of money from bank accounts requires the authorization of the district court.

#### Acting Guardian and Acting Trustee

Article 123. (1) The acting guardian acts for the guardian when he is prevented from fulfilling his obligations or conflicts of interest arise between his interests and the interests of the person placed under guardianship. In these cases, the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship may appoint a special representative.

(2) This stipulation applies respectively to the acting trustee.

#### Assistance from the People's Council

Article 124. The municipal people's council assists the guardian and the trustee in the fulfilment of their obligations.

#### Supervision of the Guardian's Actions

Article 125. The official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship may halt the actions of the guardian and order that the actions be completed after asking the opinion of the guardianship council.

#### Report of the Guardian and Trustee

Article 126. (1) Each year at the end of February the guardian gives a report of his activities before the guardianship council. The report is afterwards submitted to the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship. The report is also given by the guardian upon his dismissal and whenever the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship requests this.

(2) At the request of the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship and in the presence of the acting trustee, the trustee gives an account of his actions.

(3) The official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship rules on the guardian's report and the trustee's account and if he finds irregularities he requests that they be removed.

(4) At the request of the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship the district council issues a writ of execution against the guardian for sums unaccounted for.

(5) When the guardian or trustee fails to appear or to make a report, or account, the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship draws up a statement, on the basis of which the president of the executive committee of the municipal people's council imposes a fine of the order of two hundred leva. The official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship may request the report, or account, from the acting guardian or acting trustee.

(6) The establishment of the violation, issue, appeal and execution of the punitive decree occur according to the order determined by the Law on Administrative Violations and Penalties.

#### Transfer from Guardianship to Trusteeship

Article 127. (1) Upon attaining fourteen years of age, the child is liberated by law from guardianship and the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship appoints him a trustee and acting trustee. Until they are appointed, the guardian fulfils their activities.

(2) At the transfer from total to limited confinement until the appointment of a trustee, the guardian fulfils the activities of the trustee.

#### Special Cases of Guardianship and Trusteeship

Article 128 (1) If the parents of a juvenile are unknown, the guardian of the minor is the director of the public institution in which the juvenile is placed.

(2) If the parents of a minor are unknown, the trustee of the minor is the director of the public institution in which the juvenile is placed.

(3) The guardian of a person placed in total confinement, or the trustee of a person placed in limited confinement, is that person's capable spouse. If there is no such person, parental rights and obligations are exercised by his parents, unless they are unknown, deceased, deprived of those rights or unable to exercise them.

(4) In the cases of the preceeding paragraphs, a guardianship council and an acting trustee are not appointed, and actions relating to guardianship do not occur.

#### Law Applicable to Family Relationships With an International Element

##### Contracting Marriage Abroad

Article 129. (1) Marriage between Bulgarian citizens abroad may be contracted before a Bulgarian diplomatic or consulate representative, if local law permits this. The marriage may also be contracted before a local official, if the procedure prescribed by local law is followed.

(2) Marriage between a Bulgarian citizen and a foreign citizen may be contracted abroad before a Bulgarian diplomatic or consulate representative according to this code if the national law of the foreign citizen permits this. The marriage may also be contracted before a local official, if the procedure prescribed by local law is followed.

(3) A marriage contracted between foreign citizens abroad is recognized in the People's Republic of Bulgaria if the procedure prescribed by the law in the place of marriage is followed.

#### Marriage between a Bulgarian and Foreign Citizen before a Bulgarian Registrar

Article 130. A foreign citizen who contracts marriage with a Bulgarian citizen in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, or before a Bulgarian diplomatic or consulate representative abroad, or before the captain of a Bulgarian vessel on the open sea, must prove that there are no obstacles to contracting the marriage in his national law.

#### Conditions for Entering into Marriage

Article 131. (1) The stipulations of Articles 12 and 13 are binding on Bulgarian citizens who contract marriage abroad. Authorization according to Article 12, paragraph 2, may be given by a Bulgarian diplomatic or consulate representative.

(2) For the foreign citizen who contracts marriage with a Bulgarian citizen before a registrar in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, or before a Bulgarian diplomatic or consulate representative abroad, or before the captain of a Bulgarian vessel on the open sea, the conditions for contracting marriage are determined by his national law and the stipulations of Article 13 in this code are binding.

(3) For foreign citizens who contract marriage between themselves before a registrar in the People's Republic of Bulgaria or before the captain of a Bulgarian vessel on the open sea, the conditions for contracting marriage are determined by their national laws. In these cases, the stipulation of Article 13, paragraph 1, is binding. In addition, marriage may not be contracted between relatives of direct line and between brothers and sisters.

#### Annulment of Marriage

Article 132. The grounds and consequences for annulment of marriage are established:

1. by Bulgarian law if the marriage is between a Bulgarian citizen and a foreigner;
2. by the law of the country of which both foreign spouses were citizens when they contracted marriage, and by the laws of the country in which marriage was contracted in as far as these laws were binding for the marriage contracted by them;
3. in cases of marriage between foreigners of different citizenship, by their national laws, if they concur, and by the laws of the country in which marriage was contracted in as far as they were binding for the marriage contracted by them. In case of non-concurrence of the national laws, the law applies that permits annulment. As far as the consequences of annulment are concerned, the law applies that is more favorable toward the children or to the conscientious spouse if there are no children from the marriage.

#### Personal and Material Relationships between Spouses

Article 133. (1) Personal and material relationships between spouses, one of whom is a Bulgarian citizen, are settled by this code, if they are realized on Bulgarian territory.

(2) Personal and material relationships between foreign spouses with the same citizenship are settled by their national laws if they are realized on Bulgarian territory. If the spouses have different citizenships, these relationships are settled according to concurring stipulations of their national laws and, if this is not possible, by this code.

(3) In case of disposition of real estate on Bulgarian territory, the laws of the People's Republic of Bulgaria apply.

#### Divorce

Article 134. Divorce and its Consequences are Settled:

1. by Bulgarian law, if one of the spouses is a Bulgarian citizen;
2. in case of marriage between foreigners with the same citizenship, by the law of the state of which they are citizens at the time of the petition for divorce;
3. in case of marriage between foreigners with different citizenship, by their national laws if they concur. In case of conflicting national laws, the law that permits divorce applies. With regard to consequences of divorce, the law applies that is more favorable toward the children or to the blameless spouse if there are no children from the marriage.

#### Parentage

Article 135. In the case of parentage, the national law of the child at the time of birth applies.

#### Adoption

Article 136. (1) Adoption between persons, one of whom is a Bulgarian citizen, is permitted according to the stipulations of this code. When the adoptee is a Bulgarian citizen, the consent of the corresponding state official is requested, and adoption is executed by a Bulgarian court.

(2) Adoption between persons with the same citizenship is permitted under the conditions of their national law. If citizenship is different, adoption is permitted under the conditions of their native laws. In these cases, the stipulations of Article 52 apply.

(3) The action of adoption is settled by the national law of the adoptive parent.

(4) Termination of adoption is settled by the national law of the adoptee.

## Relationships between Parents and Children

Article 137. Relationships between parents and children are settled by the national laws of the child, unless the parents have the same citizenship and their national laws are more favorable toward the child.

## Guardianship and Trusteeship

Article 138. (1) The establishment, activities and termination of guardianship and trusteeship are settled by the national laws of the person placed under guardianship and trusteeship.

(2) The obligation to accept and fulfil the duties of guardian, trustee or member of a guardianship council are settled by their national laws.

## Maintenance

Article 139. The obligation of maintenance which a foreigner claims from a Bulgarian citizen is settled by this code, and suits fall under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian courts.

## National Laws of a Foreigner with Dual Citizenship

Article 140. For a foreigner who has several foreign citizenships, the national laws are the laws of the country where he has his permanent place of residence.

Article 141. The national laws of a stateless person are considered to be the laws of the country in which he has his permanent place of residence.

Article 142. When application of foreign laws is incompatible with the basic fundamentals of the laws of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the stipulations of this code apply.

## Application of International Treaty

Article 143. The stipulations in this chapter do not apply when provisions are made otherwise by an international treaty, to which the People's Republic of Bulgaria is party.

## Supplementary Stipulations

Paragraph 1. In the case of questions for which this code contains no stipulations, the appropriate laws of the civil code apply, unless this conflicts with the principles of settling family relationships and of socialist ethics.

Paragraph 2. For the purposes of this code, the municipal people's council includes the district people's councils and the city halls; and the functions



of the presidents of the executive committees of the municipal people's councils are fulfilled by the presidents of the executive committees of the district people's councils and the city halls.

#### Preceding Stipulations

Paragraph 3. The requirement of Article 10, paragraph 1, concerning the declaration of contract of marriage is applied from 1 August 1985.

Paragraph 4. The principles of this code regarding material relationships between spouses also apply to existing property acquired before it comes into effect by spouses in marriages under jurisdiction.

Paragraph 5. (1) As an exception, a grandfather and grandmother may adopt a grandchild of legal age under the conditions of Article 52, paragraph 2, when the grandchild has been reared by them and has not attained 21 years of age at the time the code comes into effect.

(2) Adoption is permitted if the request for adoption is submitted in a three-month period from the time this code comes into effect and, with a view to the factual relationships, is socially justified and in the interests of the adoptee.

Paragraph 6. The stipulation of Article 87 also applies to maintenance cases that are pending on 1 July 1985.

Paragraph 7. Maintenance awarded according to Article 88, paragraph 2, of the Family Code of 1968 are terminated from 1 July 1985.

Paragraph 8. Divorce cases that are pending on the day of promulgation of this code in the "State Gazette" are considered and judged according to the present conditions and order.

Paragraph 9. The interests provided for in this code also apply to financial obligations awarded before it enters into effect in cases of delayed fulfilment after 1 July 1985.

Paragraph 10. Petition according to Article 105, paragraph 1, may be filed by persons close to the spouses only if the marriage was terminated after 1 July 1984. The time period according to paragraph 2 begins upon suspension of the marriage.

Paragraph 11. For persons placed under trusteeship before the entry of this code into effect, the official responsible for guardianship and trusteeship will appoint an acting trustee within a three-month period.

Paragraph 12. The principles concerning time periods in this code do not apply to time periods that began to expire under the activity of the repealed Family Code, unless their termination according to the repealed code requires a longer period than that foreseen in this code.

## Concluding Stipulations

### Amendments to the Law

#### Section One

##### Law on Domestic Relations

(Promulgated in the State Gazette, No. 182, 1949; corrected, No. 193, 1949, amended, extract, No. 12, 1951, No 12 and 92, 1952, No. 15, 1953; corrected, No. 16, 1953; amended No. 89, 1953, No. 90, 1955, No. 90, 1956, No. 50, 1961; State Gazette No 23, 1968, and No. 36, 1979.

Paragraph 13. Article 6, paragraph 4 is amended as follows:

"In the case of adoption, according to Article 62 of the Family Code, the adoptee may take the first name and family name of the adoptive parent as his patronymic and family name. This change must be entered in the judgement which permits the adoption."

Paragraph 14. Articles 59, 60 and 96 to 110 are repealed.

#### Section Two

##### Amendments to The Civil Procedure Code

(Promulgated in Extract No. 12, 1952; amended and supplemented No. 92, 1952, No. 89, 1953, No. 90, 1955, No. 90, 1956, No. 90, 1958, No. 50 and 90, 1961; corrected No. 99, 1961, amended and supplemented State Gazette No. 1, 1963, No. 23, 1968, No. 27, 1973, No. 89, 1976, No. 36, 1979 and No. 28, 1983.)

Paragraph 15. In Article 7, paragraphs 3 and 4 are created:

"Marriage petitions fall within the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian courts if one of the spouses is a Bulgarian citizen.

Bulgarian courts examine marriage petitions between foreign citizens if the place of residence of the respondent is in Bulgaria or if one of the spouses lives in Bulgaria ...[two lines illegible].

Paragraph 16. In Article 258, paragraph 1, and Article 261, the words "... are replaced with "annulment".

Paragraph 17. Article 259 is amended as follows:

"Article 259. The proceedings for petition for divorce begin with a conciliatory session which the spouses must attend in person. Failure to attend without due reason on the part of the petitioner results in termination of the proceedings. Nonappearance of the respondent does not impede examination of the request, but the court may order a personal appearance.

The conciliatory session is conducted behind closed doors. The court is obliged to hear the points of view of the parties, request explanations of the causes for which the divorce petition has been filed and clarify the unfavorable consequences of divorce for them, the children and society, while inviting them to be reconciled.

A new conciliatory session is set no sooner than two months when:

- a) the court has ordered the respondent to appear in person;
- b) the spouses, or one of them wish to continue their efforts at reconciliation and stabilization of the marriage;
- c) the court considers that conciliation may be achieved.

The court may summon to the conciliatory session representatives of public organizations in the place of residence or at the place of work of the spouses and request them to assist in the conciliation.

In cases of conciliation, if the parties so wish, the court notifies the municipal people's council in their place of residence, the company or institute in which they work, the management of the public organizations at their place of work and in their place of residence, to assist in the settlement of certain social, everyday issues which may help to strengthen the marriage.

Efforts at conciliation are not undertaken when, due to prohibition, absence or other insurmountable reason, conciliation between the parties cannot be expected.

When conciliation is not achieved, the court sets the case no earlier than four months from the date of the last conciliatory session. If the court believes that adjournment of the case for such a period is damaging to the children, the spouses and society, it may set the case earlier."

Paragraph 18. In Article 259, the number "24" is replaced with "101".

Paragraph 19. Article 260 is amended as follows:

"Article 260. In case of divorce, the petitioner must present all the grounds for the profound and irreconcilable break-down of the marriage. Grounds that are not presented but which ensue up to the conclusion of the oral controversies and become known to the spouse may not serve as grounds in the filing of a new petition for divorce.

All marriage petitions may be combined. With them, petitions for exercise of parental rights, personal relationships and maintenance of children, use of the family home, maintenance between spouses and the family name are filed and examined obligatorily. Petitions for material relationships between spouses may be combined with marriage petitions.

The stipulations of the preceeding paragraphs also refer to the respondent concerning petitions that he may have filed.

Petition for the annulment of marriage due to violation of the conditions of

age, according to Article 12, and due to threats, according to Article 96, paragraph 1, item 2, of the Family Code may not be filed after a petition for divorce has been rejected."

Paragraph 20. In Article 261, the following amendments are made:

1. A new paragraph 3 is inserted:

"The husband may not petition for divorce without the consent of his wife if she is pregnant and until the child has attained twelve months of age."

2. The present paragraph 2 becomes paragraph 4.

Paragraph 21. Article 262 is erased.

Paragraph 22. In Article 267, in the first sentence the words "announcement of nullity" are replaced with "annulment", and in the third sentence the word "nullity" is replaced with "annulment".

Paragraph 23. In Article 268, the words "9, 10 and 91, paragraph 2" are replaced with "13 and 131, paragraph 2".

Paragraph 24. In Article 303, a new paragraph 4 is inserted:

"Judgement for a marriage petition of a foreign court, concerning a Bulgarian citizen, is recognized without the presence of conditions according to paragraph 1 if at the time of filing the petition the respondent was resident in the country where the judgement was decreed."

Paragraph 25. In Article 395 the following amendments are made:

1. In paragraph 4, the first sentence is amended as follows:

"The announcement of execution on money due to the state or to the socialist organization is entered into the service record, and on money due for maintenance in the service record and on the identity card of the debtor by the person who pays the salary of the debtor in the institute, company or organization ." In the second sentence the words "service record" are erased.

2. In paragraph 5, the words "in the service record" are erased.

### Section Three

#### Amendments to the Law on Inheritance

(Promulgated in Stage Gazette, No. 22, 1949; corrected No. 41, 1949, amended No. 275, 1950)

Paragraph 26. Paragraph 3 of Article 5 is amended as follows:

"In cases of adoption, according to Article 62 of the Family Code, the adoptees and their descendants do not inherit the parents of the adoptive parent."

### Section Four

#### Amendment of the Law on the State Savings Bank

(Promulgated in the State Gazette, No. 95, 1967; Amended, No. 21, 1975 and No. 83, 1978)

Paragraph 27. In Article 13 the following amendments are made:

1. A new paragraph 2 is inserted with the following contents:

"The spouses may own bank accounts in the name of both of them".

2. Paragraph 2 becomes paragraph 3.

Paragraph 28. This code enters into effect on 1 July 1985 and replaces the Family Code of 1968 (promulgated in the State Gazette, No. 23, 1968, amended No. 27, 1973, No. 89, 1976, corrected No. 90, 1976, amended No. 36, 1979.)

The code is approved by the Eighth National Assembly in its sixteenth session, third sitting, which took place on 17 May 1985, and is printed at the state press.

President of the National Assembly: (...) St. Todorov

12907

CSO 2200/153

BULGARIA

STRICT MEASURES AGAINST THEFTS OF EXPLOSIVES, FIREARMS URGED

Illegal Use of Weapons Condemned

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 14 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Stoyko Stoykov: "Shooting in Ludogorie"]

[Text] Midnight in one of the wooded massifs near the village of Ezerche. A group of celebrating, drunken men are shooting their guns. The noise does not travel very far, it is barely audible in the closest village. Still, if someone did hear it, he would pay no attention. There are a lot of members in the local hunting group who could be shooting their guns! This is how ordinary people deal with such an incident, but one person took it quite differently. And despite the fact, as the folk saying about hyperbole goes--that nine villages can become ten, its "echo" was heard immediately. He is the inspector for the control of dangerous devices at the section for (OOR) at the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Razgrad, lieutenant engineer Krasimir Markov. He heard it and determined unmistakably that hunters could not be making the noise. He had well acquainted the members of hunting parties with when, where, and at what time they could hunt. His assumption was quickly affirmed: a capsule detonator had been fired.

Shooting in Ludogorie! Someone could say: "Oh, who knows why that should be a violation of the social order, especially since it took place in the forest!" Indeed it is not, but for a young communist, who is responsible for control over the dangerous devices in the rayon, it is a serious signal. And he must quickly ascertain who has fired the shot, as well as where he obtained the capsule detonator in question. Does he have other explosive materials, which might cause a serious catastrophe?

In such cases, one thinks over everything. There is no enterprise in the okrug which could produce the explosion, but there are quarries where building materials are mined, only they work with explosive substances and devices which are obtained from a central warehouse in the village of Tetovo. But the systematic checks which Lt. Markov carries out, with the help of rayon and junior rayon inspectors, give him no basis for doubting the reliability of the people working at the sites. The way in which explosive substances and devices are loaded in the quarries is checked on a regular basis. Then...!?

Lt. Markov established who had fired the shot. It was N.A. from Ezerche, a detonation specialist who works for the Druzhdza Metallurgy Plant. But his investigation activity does not stop there. From experience he has learned that whoever fires indiscriminately in all likelihood has misused and hoarded similar materials. But the efforts of the inspector for control of dangerous devices to extract additional confessions from the violator are without result. All that remains is to impose a sanction, which in this case most often means taking away the detonation worker's booklet. And N.A. is invited to hand it over immediately. As a rule it remains at the enterprise, at the workplace, but instead of handing it over, the violator disappeared instantly. He hopped into a taxi and took the shortest way to Ezerche, a fact not lost on the communist Markov.

In subsequent conversations, the violator of the social order makes full confessions. Indeed he had explosive substances and devices at his home. He had just gone there to hide them, but he did not succeed in doing it. One of the dozens of cases of alert watchfulness! This is attested to by the systematic operations for controls and checking up on hunters, on how their smooth-barrelled weapons and a set amount of ammunition are maintained. Taking part in one of the sudden checks were the rayon inspectors Captain Marko Markov, Major Getso Getsov, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mikho Dochev, who is in charge of criminal proceedings; they established a number of violations. Several members of the Bulgarian Hunters' and Fishermens' Union, including Filip Atanasov, Dimitur Dochev, Ivan Vasilev, and Pavel Ivanov, were sanctioned for having more ammunition than the permitted amount. And, as a result of checks by rayon inspector Captain Dimitur Tsonev and junior rayon inspector First Sergeant Georgi Ivanov, the former mayor of the village of Chudomir, Georgi Stanev, is demonstrated to have four guns not registered with the rayon administration, and for this he is freed from his official position.

One fruit of increased vigilance is the discovery of a homemade weapon, fashioned by group of children, for "shooting at cats." Rayon inspector Major Kol'o Donchev learns about these innocent "pistols" and "rifles" from the signals they give off. One of the windows in the Etur apartment block was broken by a tin bullet, which came from an unknown direction. Observations organized by Lt. Markov demonstrate that the shot was produced on the eighth or ninth floor of the facing apartment block. Soon it is established that the children Valentin Yankov and Petur Genchev have turned one of the garages into their own "firearms workshop." In it they had molds for pouring bullets, as well as devices for making types of barrels and a mount for shooting.

Barely three years have passed since the former chief power engineer at the G. Damyanov Unified Metallurgy Plant in Razgrad, engineer Krasimir Markov, was brought over to work for the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but he already numbers among the most daring employees in the (OOR) section. During the last six months he has reported three times on the results of his work in the control of dangerous devices: to the party committee, to the technical vocational school, and to a party group. And when the day came for individual promises about socialist competition, he boldly declared: "I give my word to improve even more the quality of control over

dangerous devices, to raise sharply the number of model sites, and in honor of the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the service of control of dangerous devices will become a general model for everyone!"

In the first six months of the year, 45 sites in the system for control of dangerous devices have been declared model sites. The word given will be fulfilled, so that there will be not one undesirable shot in Ludogorie.

#### Successes Noted in Inspections

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 14 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Colonel Vasil Kostov, head of the department for control of dangerous devices at the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Pleven: "Without Compromises"]

[Text] Since vigilance now is our most important duty, the control of all of the devices, which could endanger the health and lives of people in an emergency or as a result of criminal and inimical actions, we must accordingly move ahead in tackling a number of inescapable assignments. Thus many who still think that this is the work only of specialized control of dangerous devices services will be mistaken. So that dangerous devices can be safely maintained in our society, concern alone is not enough; the concrete participation of all subdivisions of the ministry and, of course, the active participation of members of the society are needed.

Much work has been carried out in terms of confiscating illegally owned weapons and explosive materials. In fact some have fulfilled their obligations almost like apostles, surrounding and prevailing on people, moving from one house to another, but others have saved time by substituting general meetings for individual conversations. Thus, in one way or another, not everything has been done.

It is a good idea to have places where dangerous devices are stored or worked with at model sites. But often after the initial storm of activity in this regard, many places see a significant cooling off take place.

Technology is little used in control activities. (SOT) could be introduced more widely (but without prior announcement, for the risk is great here!) The use of personal computers could make much of the work in the control of dangerous devices service easier. But most of all something more must be done about the professional training of the staff, especially the people newly assigned. (The lectures in the Higher Sergeants' School can give only the most general concepts about this work, which we are already convinced is important for all of us.)

One editorial worker and two section heads from the control of dangerous devices service examine below some topical aspects in the activity of controlling dangerous devices in three okrugs. The editors of the newspaper are ready to publish other materials which discuss our experience, and that from abroad, or which offer concrete, effective proposals in this extremely vital area.



Lest we permit deviations, misuse, crimes, and accidents with dangerous devices, we are developing many preventative activities. During this year we wrote up a special dialogue on this theme and distributed copies of it to all the voluntary detachments of workers in the okrug. With the assistance of the directorate for public education, the inspectors from the State Trade Union, the Komsomol, and the Pioneer House, we explained to students the dangers of homemade bombs, especially those made of aluminized bronze and minium. In meetings with the managers of enterprises and organizations which use dangerous devices, we pointed out measures for more effective administrative control.

At the beginning of March, we created a special commission for additional checks and for teaching everyone with access to dangerous devices or who work with them. We paid special attention to those sites where explosive substances are stored and used. The check brought to light some negative phenomena. It turned out that 21 people had to be taken off their jobs because it was discovered that they did not meet the necessary requirements.

Now we follow more strictly the movements of various explosive materials. There are no crude violations, deviations, or misuses of dangerous devices.

We are alarmed, however, by the problem of weapons and ammunition which are supposed to be used for military-technical training of the populace. We arranged for small caliber weapons (especially pistols) to be collected for responsible storage at communal councils. Up to now, they had been found in amateur clubs of enterprises, and a year ago a small caliber rifle was stolen. The organization for military-technical training uses eight firing ranges in the okrug, which are on average five to ten kilometers from inhabited areas. The transport of weapons and ammunition takes place in casually determined vehicles, and the organization of shooting is not always good; a real danger exists for deviations and thefts of dangerous devices. Thus we propose that a normative document be prepared which would require that weapons and ammunition for military-technical training be transported in special vehicles.

We devote much attention to hunting rifles. Periodically we check to see that requirements for their maintenance under domestic conditions are being adhered to.

During the first six months of this year, we investigated 100 cases of illegal ownership of weapons, of which only 12 were not confirmed. Employees of okrug and rayon administrations confiscated 37 rifles, one submachine gun, 24 pistols, 673 bullets, and 18 kilograms of explosive substances. As a result of this investigative work among the populace, we were given 45 rifles and 11 pistols, as well as one small caliber, seven air-powered, and six homemade weapons. Captain Tsvetan Ninovski, Major Boyu Tsvetanov, Captain Karol Danailov, and many others distinguished themselves in this campaign.

The head of the rayon administration in Pleven, Lieutenant Colonel Angel Georgiev, and rayon inspector Lieutenant Colonel Iliya Rusanov established the fact that the manifestly criminal Dobromir Dekov of the village of Vulchi Trun had constructed a well hidden spot for storing a new hunting rifle, a revolver, and over 300 bullets.

A trial recently ended (with two real and seven conditional verdicts); seven people were on trial, accused of illegal possession of firearms. Among them was Danail Tsanov, who had been convicted of crimes three times, and Aleksandur Grigorov, who had been convicted twice (this time three rifles had been found at his place).

Successes were experienced by rayon administrations in Pleven, Cherven Bryag, Levski, Dolni Dubnik, and Gulyantsi. Falling behind are Belene, Nikolpol, and, to a certain extent, Dolna Mitropoliya, but we feel that with joint efforts, we will soon overcome the shortfalls there too.

I want to note one more potential danger, homemade weapons. They are usually used in poaching, but they can also kill a person. Now a number of enterprises have good metalworking technology and materials; a lack of control there means that a fairly decent weapon can be put together. Thus our preventative work must also take this problem into account.

12334

CSO: 2200/91

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

INCIDENT IN TURKEY--IZMIR (TANJUG)--In front of the Bulgarian exhibition area at the 54th International Fair in Izmir refugees from Bulgaria provoked an incident that required police intervention. A group of 200 Turkish refugees from Bulgaria demonstrated over the Bulgarian Government's treatment of the Turkish minority in that country and laid a black wreath in front of the exhibit. Bulgarian officials at the fair attempted to thwart the demonstrators, and a fight with poles and chairs ensued. The police intervened immediately, broke up the demonstration and restored order. In the melee two demonstrators and one policeman were slightly injured, and six persons were arrested.  
[Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 85 p 2]

CSO: 2800/439

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SOCIAL SCIENCES AS PARTY'S INSTRUMENT

Prague TVORBA in Czech 14 Aug 85 p 14

[Article by Jaroslav Havelka: "The Social Sciences and Social Practice"]

[Excerpts] The closer connection between social science research and the requirements of social practice has become a very pressing requirement in those socialist countries which are creating or are perfecting developed socialism. It is a topic of conversation at meetings of central committees of communist parties and even in party documents. Considerable attention is also being devoted to this question in our country now. Organs which direct social science research, particularly the directing organs of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, are expending great efforts in order to attain more express progress in this area. Research projects which contribute to the recognition of various social phenomena which are significant from the standpoint of developing society have made their appearance. Nevertheless, the attained results continue not to be responsive to the requirements and needs of social practice.

The function of social sciences in the development of the socialist society has changed fundamentally. This is the main reason why the problem of connection between social sciences and social practice is perceived as a strongly urgent one at present.

During the phase of creating and perfecting developed socialism, the socialist countries and communist parties of these countries are encountering completely new and very complicated social problems which cannot be solved without deep scientific analysis. Consequently, the social sciences are now being required to prepare qualified analyses of these social problems and, to the extent possible, initiate realistic proposals for methods of their solution. Thus, the social sciences, under the leadership of the party, are expected to directly share in the management of social processes, in the realization of the development of society; like the natural and technical sciences, they are now becoming a production force in the societal reproduction process.

In other words, this means a very fundamental shift in the social function of science in developing socialism. It turns out that it is not easy to bring about the necessary turnaround in research, although its urgency is clear in terms of general and theoretical attitude. Certain hesitations are noted and the force of the existing momentum of the orientation given to research sites

continues to exert its influence. But not even the system of managing social science research responds to the new situation any longer. Considerable gaps in communication between organs of social practice and social science research exist.

It is characteristic of the individual social sciences that their relationship with respect to social practice must be considerably differentiated. Here, political economics or sociology have a different position from philosophy. Nevertheless, certain common requirements aimed at the direction of social science research do exist. A common fundamental requirement is for social science research to adapt to the new function of social science in developing society. This is not now merely a matter of creating the foundation for party propaganda, for defending and clarifying the policies of the party but, primarily, a matter of a completely truthful and accurate analysis of the dialectic process involved in the development of society and of finding ways to solve arising social problems.

A generally valid fundamental requirement, based on dialectic materialism, can be considered to be the orientation of research toward recognizing objective societal realities from which it is necessary to draw conclusions and to pose generally theoretical questions and to verify them through the use of results achieved by research. Research projects which result in the formation of some kind of static problem-free models of ideal societal relationships in socialism but which fail to respond to social realities because they do not take into account the dialectics of creating social conditions which represent dynamic social movement connected with the functions and solutions of disputes are of little use to social practice.

The weaker aspects of some research projects include their conclusions which should lead to progress in mastering a given social problem, be it in the form of a stimulus for additional research, the drawing of attention to the growing significance of some social manifestations or certain clarifications of ways and means of solving these problems, etc. In some projects, known facts are repeated, subjected and inadequately documented positions are noted and, in others, general assertions, which are less specific than the conclusions which have been reached by organs of social practice, are listed.

It appears that it will also be necessary to perfect the system of managing social science research in several directions. Currently, practically the principal instruments for managing this research are the research plan in which the individual topics of research tasks are usually augmented by very brief and general annotations, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the project defense proceedings during which completed research work is evaluated in a prescribed method. In actual fact, these methods can be used to influence research only to a limited extent. It turns out that it is not very well possible or effective or even humanly suitable to wish to direct research on an ex post facto basis once the finished work is on the table. Consequently, the center of gravity for managing research should be transferred to the period during which the research project is being prepared or perhaps when work on it has already begun and when it is still possible to provide investigators with suggestions, thoughts, and to comment on their intentions.

It would perhaps be purposeful to introduce, as a basic form of managing social research, a thorough evaluation and perhaps also a research program defense proceeding which would have to be sufficiently detailed and clear to indicate the viewpoints from which and methods by which the given topic is to be worked on. It is clear that in so doing the personality of the investigator, his methodological aims and his style of scientific work would have to be taken into account.

Many highly significant and key social problems today include social manifestations which are the subject of research delved into by various social sciences. It is too bad that this circumstance is sometimes overlooked and that the question is examined only by a single scientific discipline and that research is then narrowed to only one aspect of the entire problem and cannot produce useful results. For example, research involving the functions of the economic mechanism should not remain solely the purview of economists but should also be shared in by sociologists and possibly even psychologists. After all, it does not concern itself solely with the design of various management instruments but primarily deals with motivation and mutual relationships between people. To research similar social problems, purposeful interdisciplinary research cooperation should be organized to a far greater extent than heretofore.

Theoretical discussions, whose results could influence the subsequent work on the project purposefully, should be organized at the inception of the research and, obviously, during its course. They would also be very useful because when examining the functions of lawful events, of the formation and development of societal relationships within developed socialism, much that is new is constantly encountered and has not heretofore been completely recognized so that differing views and disputes regarding their explanations are necessary; it is precisely the exchange and conflict of views in such discussions that could make significant contributions toward a deeper clarification of some of the problems involved.

Organs of social practice should--apart from solving urgent day-to-day operational questions--become oriented more toward fundamental and conceptual problems involved in the development of society, the solution of which will require social science research. On the basis of this need, they should, far more than heretofore, participate in assigning research topics, in creating research programs, not only by recommending one or another topic in general terms but also through providing specific clarifications as to the viewpoints from which a given topic should be processed. And research work sites should, on their own initiative, turn to social practice organs and request such recommendations. In place of random inconsistent assignment of scientific projects to social science work sites, organs of social practice should introduce a systematic and well-thought-out system of such projects.

This working style should continue even during the course of research involved in a given topic through the form of the participation of representatives of social practice in scientific discussions, consultations, and individual questions which arise so that research can bring about precisely those results which are of interest to social practice and which it needs. Social practice

organs should also evaluate the results of research and communicate their viewpoints to investigators of research tasks so as to enable the latter to proceed appropriately in their subsequent research work.

A specific shift in the connection between social sciences and social practice is demanded by the current era of development of socialism in our country, during which the developed socialist society is being formed. We have made considerable progress along this path and we have achieved many favorable results. Currently, however, we now strongly perceive how complicated and intensive the dynamics of this development are, with what urgency the necessary qualitative movement of various aspects of societal life are reaching the order of the day, and how additional actions aimed at solving these new questions are more and more essential. The social sciences must, under the leadership of the party, participate with their entire considerable potential in shaping the new development of our society in such a way as to facilitate the deep recognition of actual and real processes involved in the creation of developed socialism and of societal problems.

5911

CSO: 2400/572

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ALCOHOLISM SEEN AS REAL SOCIAL PROBLEM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Zdena Stepankova: "About Alcoholism"]

[Text] You say that that tavern is at Roznov pod Radhostem? And to think that I thought it was in front of the CKD [Ceskomoravska Kolben Danek, national enterprise] in Prague on Pod Pekarnami Street in the Ninth District--this is what Comrade Vladislav Vlasaty, chairman of the All-Enterprise Committee of the CPCZ at the CKD Enterprise in Prague, wrote in response to an article appearing in the 9 August issue of RUDE PRAVO under the headline of "I Ask You, What Do You Want?"

This is a matter of a combined topic--the drinking of alcohol in general and the drinking of alcohol during working hours in particular.

Alcoholism, or the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages has once more become the subject of discussion in recent times. Specialists who deal with this problem would confirm that such "waves" have been seen before but, unfortunately, the final result is not in any way glorious. The detrimental results of alcoholism are clearly more talked about than actually fought against.

Some time ago at a railroad classification yard, I met a manager who could not tolerate slipshod work, late arrivals, and who was a "dog" particularly with respect to the consumption of alcohol. To my direct question he responded by saying that he himself does not count himself among the "pure" abstainers but that he cannot tolerate drunken people and would never permit drinking on the job. He has had his experiences. The classification yard employed few workers so that for everyone who came looking for work the doors were thrown wide open. Eyes were sort of closed with respect to many characteristics. Somebody had to be at work. And so there were some notorious good-time charleys. They counseled them, they explained all the things that could happen if an employee comes to work without having had adequate rest and still under the influence of yesterday's binge. That's just a lot of talk--those for whom the warning words were intended waved them off. They claimed they had their "guardian angel." Except that once perhaps this "angel" overslept and one of the group suffered a serious injury--not directly as a result of drunkenness but as a result of fatigue after a wild night--in which he lost both his legs.



He fell under a moving train. This was the first and also the last such accident at this work site whose underlying cause was the consumption of sharp liquids. Strict controls were instituted, the collective parted company with the alcoholics, the manager from time to time also visited taverns in the vicinity to see who spent time there. Random checks at the beginning of the workday continue through the present. In the beginning, individuals grumbled but gradually became accustomed to the strictness. But the results are most significant--work goes on without accidents or at least without accidents under the influence of drinking.

And that is what matters in the fight against alcoholism. Nobody is prohibiting--and it is not even possible to prohibit--the consumption of a glass of beer after the workday but society cannot ignore the fact when the consumption of alcohol becomes the sole pursuit during free time people have. There are managers who tolerate drinking on the job or during worktime. They admit that something needs to be done about it, but what? Someone proposes the closing of taverns--at least during the forenoon. However, would it be better to ask what managers and foremen are doing when they tolerate that their subordinates sit in the tavern during working hours? If there was order in the workplace, no one would dare to "nip over" to the tavern.

Nevertheless, there are situations in which the fight against alcoholism must begin with a strict prohibition of the sale of alcohol. For example, in railroad transportation. Why are alcoholic beverages sold in railroad stations? Why are some railroad restaurants more like a bar or a taproom than a location at which a person might be able to refresh themselves before or after a long journey? What does the Ministry of Transportation think of this?

Some compartments on trains must be virtually avoided by travelers because they have become taverns. Yes, people can bring hard liquor even from a sales outlet outside of the station or from home. But why must it be offered directly at the railroad station? An inebriated traveler is the terror of the train. As a rule, the conductor does not dare approach such types alone. But what about calling the police at the nearest station and hauling the drunkard off the train? To demonstrate that drunkenness will not be tolerated on board trains. For the time being, however, things are just the opposite. Travelers who favor alcohol clearly believe that nothing will happen to any of them and continue to make the compartment even more untidy.

Recently, a group of young people traveled to attend one of the traditional youth festivals. It was downright startling to see how much drink they took with them. They said it was a present. But perhaps it was also because the drinking of alcoholic beverages is considered by some people to be a natural part of all celebrations. Is it really a natural component of all human happiness?

In actual fact, alcoholism is connected with sorrow. It only appears that alcohol causes happiness and that people experience a feeling of well-being. Perhaps only after the first few swallows. But all people around the alcoholic are sad. For children this represents the loss of the family hinterland because if one parent drinks (it has long since stopped being true that only

the men drink) the second parent is unhappy and this has an influence on the children. And if it should happen that the second partner joins the drinker and also drinks, then the children are looking at a bitter life; often there is no choice but to remove them from the parents.

Alcohol causes many illnesses which sometimes even lead to death. Not infrequently, it is the cause of suicides because it causes serious psychic disturbances.

Statistics show that while in 1959 the per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages (recomputed in terms of pure alcohol) averaged something more than 5 liters; in 1980 the average per capita consumption was over 9.5 liters. According to the statistics, every citizen "drank up" virtually 1,600 korunas in 1980. This is every citizen, including infants and abstainers!

You say that these figures do not pertain to us, that the majority of people do not drink on the job, that they don't even favor alcohol in their free time? Certainly. And that much more remains for the minority who have fallen prey to alcohol. It is necessary to cure this problem and nevertheless devote the principal amount of attention to those who have an inclination to drink but have not yet become alcoholics. Primarily, we are concerned about the youth.

Sometimes a good word is enough. But is a good word sufficient in all cases?

5911

CSO: 2400/573

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REPLY TO READER'S COMPLAINT ABOUT GOVERNMENT

Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech 2 Aug 85 p 2

[Letter to the editor by A.K. Kromeriz: "It Does Not Make Sense to Cry Over Spilled Milk"]

[Excerpt] You will excuse me for saying that I cannot agree with your view expressed in the Opinion Exchange column in HALO SOBOTA of 15 June 1985 that "the government is not here to settle the problems in this or that plant or workshop". Nobody of us wants the government to do that, but who else can put things in order? The ordinary, common citizen? He has the possibility of merely drawing attention to some shortcomings, but is far from being able to intervene effectively...

By coincidence the 19th joint session of the Federal Assembly took place during the same week which exclusively dealt with the violations of socialist legality and punishment of negative phenomena in our society. It was correctly emphasized there by deputy Hana Kantorova that it was necessary to punish more severely the violations of economic discipline in administering financial funds and material means. Punishments used so far in the so-called disciplinary action (reprimand or public reprimand, fines, withdrawal of premiums and so on) are, in my opinion, of little effect.

I am sure that you (or your spouse) go shopping so that you are exposed to the danger of "piratical" cheating of us consumers by grocers, butchers, bartenders and others. You will certainly agree with me that for such an offense (if it is discovered) a fine of Kcs 5,000 is a trifle and derision of us consumers because--he who cheated cheats again in order to get back within the shortest possible time (often on the same day) what he paid as penalty. In other words he cheats the consumer twice.

The violation of economic discipline in administering financial funds falls into the same category as cheating of consumers because they aim at unlawful material profit either of individuals or individual collectives at the expense of others.

Certainly none of us wants the chairman of the federal government to settle the problems in the workshop. But we have the chairman of the Czech and Slovak Government, they have their deputies, they in turn have general

directors, they in turn have department heads all the way down to the foreman in the last shop. Unfortunately, this chain has too many components until it reaches the last one who is supposed to rectify the situation...

A.K., Kromeriz

Reply to the Correspondent

Please excuse me if I do not agree with you in regard to certain matters. In the first place I do not agree that, if bad things take place in your workshop or plant, you have the possibility of only drawing attention to them, but not of having them corrected. The point is not to cite examples which would prove that you are wrong. It is more important to ask whether all our workers make full use of their right to participate in management and administration of public affairs. And also whether these or those shortcomings are not discussed at the production conference or trade union or party meeting, and above all whether these meetings uncompromisingly ask for the rectification of the situation or in your words for--intervention?

Let us be frank: we often grumble that this or that is not available, that things are not done as they should be, but wait that somebody else will do something about it. Preferably somebody from the top. We point out that one or another person arrogates for himself the rights to which he is not entitled, but we--because we do not make use of our own rights--actually make possible for that other person something which represents a restriction of other people's jurisdiction. Or if we do not exercise supervision properly, it may happen that other persons abuse their position. After all evidence of this may be also the instances of violation of legality as were described in the parliament by the CSSR public prosecutor general or robbing of the customers as mentioned by you.

Both the party leadership and the government have many times shown initiative for radically suppressing and eventually eliminating everything that is not good, unsocialist in our life. In this context I would like to mention at least the letter of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee concerning the struggle against the violation of legality, morale and discipline. However, no letter by itself will solve any problem because the correction of harmful phenomena and things lies in our hands in the first place. Of course, also of ministers and managers, but also of blue-collar workers, engineers and technicians.

You refer to Deputy H. Kantorova. The fundamental question, however, is whether the party and trade union organization in this or that enterprise is capable of uncompromisingly pointing to the instance of mismanagement of enterprise financial funds or material means and of preventing the worst. In other words it may not remain anything else to do but to punish the culprits for gross violation of legal provisions. And in how many instances is this forestalled? Very often the mismanagement of funds is simply "not seen". Or rather does not want to be seen. It is unjust and I will never forget that the foreman gave a bigger premium to another person and reprimanded me! What concerns me directly hurts, but what concerns the collective, enterprise, society is no business of mine.

All these lines want to strongly emphasize that our citizen, any worker in our country is not without rights and does not have to helplessly observe bungling, mismanagement, dishonesty, unlawfulness and so on. The point is whether or not he wants to make use of the constitutional right to participate in management and administration of public affairs. If he does not want to--maybe for reasons of personal indolence--then he should not cry over spilled milk. I have never experienced in my life that something moved ahead without personal involvement of the collective. This, of course, requires courage, endurance and self-sacrifice.

Jan Lipavsky

10501

CSO: 2400/558

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## ART MUST PARTICIPATE IN SHAPING SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Aug 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Art in the Changing World"]

[Excerpt] The 15th session of the KSC Central Committee again included the statement "We have a long-term task in front of us, namely that of shaping and establishing the socialist way of life". It is evident at first sight how powerful the influence of art is in this sphere. The humanism of socialist culture, inseparable from any of its manifestations, and the support of its general public, that is of all of us, is characterized by the consequent refinement and high standard of people's cultural taste. Of course, this is not happening in a uniform way, the process is not always fast or successful. Nonetheless, it is steady.

Enormous popularization and mass character of the arts under socialism is the result of democratization of culture; and the arts, on the other hand, again contribute to the development of this genuinely popular culture, beneficial for the people.

Art contributes to our full comprehension and acceptance of internationalism because it helps us know and understand the lives of people living very far from us, under different conditions. Everything is much more concrete, and therefore more comprehensible to a greater number of people than ever before.

Our relationship to the legacy of our past has become more profound as well, and is still consciously deepening. We comprehend ever better this relationship to be a strengthening of progressive tradition, and an awareness of the continuous struggle for better life and better human beings. Consequently, art is significant also in an apparently more remote sphere; that is, in that of economic comprehension and reasoning.

It is absolutely necessary to establish a broader base of possibilities for an exchange of ideas, as was mentioned at the 15th session of the KSC Central Committee. In the cultural sphere this concerns above all art criticism, and that is why today, more than any other time, we have to implement the conclusions of the Helsinki Conference on European Safety and Cooperation, contributing as much as we can to the broadening of the possibility of human

understanding. This is the reason why our art festivals, such as The Prague Spring, The Carlsbad Film Festival, the TV Golden Prague, and others, are of utmost importance.

That is why we strive to inform our citizens as thoroughly as possible on all the best in the art all over the world. To get a proof of this effort's success, it is enough to compare e.g. the variety of our movie-theaters' weekly programs with those of any western metropolis. It suffices to compare our translation literature. At the same time, the duty of both our creative production and criticism is to represent, as best as possible, the advantages and riches of our way of life. It is a struggle for truth, for human feelings and reason. That is why the 15th Central Committee of KSC session justifiably pointed out the necessity of making management jobs more efficient, which applies also to those in the cultural sphere. Therefore it holds also in the sphere of culture that "the historic reality of the relentless class struggle between socialism and capitalism, occurring in all aspects of life" has always to be respected.

There are many reserves in our cultural activities, artistic creation and art ventures in general, as well as in the organization, management, and the ideologic core of creativity itself. In this human undertaking as well, the highest task and manifestation of the leading role of the Communist Party is to help developing and enlisting talented artists, to represent the truth which stands on the side of socialism.

We have enough strength to do so. The important thing is not to break our forces, but to focus them on the main chain link, utilizing them for the actual benefit of the development of socialism.

Both our party and our society attribute great importance to the development of art and culture, stressing their contribution to the ideological maturity and moral properties of people, to the cultivation of an active relation of people to life and to socialism.

9910

CSO: 2400/556

HUNGARY

# INFLATION, BUREAUCRACY, RED TAPE EQUALS FRUSTRATION

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Ferenc L. Gazso: "Fury"]

[Text] Frankly, I don't know why it happened just in front of the Zoo that I got raving mad. Why on this particular Sunday, one of those rare days when I am not in a hurry and I really should be able to enjoy an outing with my family? I felt I had to beat somebody over the head or at least shout the truth to his face, and not just in terms of "pardon me, how about...and excuse me, would you please..." but roughly, without mincing my words. What happened was trivial enough and, unfortunately, so frequent that it hardly merits special attention. We were trying to find a parking space near the Zoo. The line of cars was stretching for half a mile, we were undecided where we might be able to squeeze in the Trabant, when an elderly, skinny woman appeared out of nowhere and motioned to us: "Park this way, please"--pointing at the side of the roadway. I would have thanked her for her trouble, but she produced a bunch of tickets, held together by a heavy rubber band, tore one off and said: "Twenty forints."

How come? There isn't even a designated parking space here, my Trabant is almost a traffic hazard on the road. The car behind mine, parked on the edge of the sidewalk, will probably be unable to get around mine, and I'll be so hemmed in, front and back, by two other cars that I'm going to have a hard time wiggling my way out once the kids are through watching the elephant show --since that's the advertised attraction we've come to see--for an hour or so. The woman was relentless, she's only a ticket seller, we should believe her, that's what the parking costs. Barely a year ago the ticket cost ten forints, now it's twenty. Besides--she adds--if in a year's time you happen to visit the Zoo just three or four times, you shouldn't really mind the twenty forint bill. Doesn't mean that much these days.

What I got hot under the collar about wasn't really the old lady's retort, or the one hundred percent price hike; it was the small print on the ticket stating that in exchange of the price nobody assumes any responsibility for anything in my absence. They can break into the car, they can dent it--the responsibility is mine alone--and the twenty forint bill belongs entirely to the parking entrepreneur.



There went my peace of mind. In a rather dark mood I dragged myself over to the Zoo entrance, where I was told that the elephant show was cancelled for technical reasons. (A good thing I asked before buying my ticket for ten and the kids' for five each.) The reason is simple enough: the PA system is out of order and so they can't let the ladies and gentlemen and children of all ages know that they should crowd around the elephant enclosure if they want to see the show. I thought we might as well take a boat ride on the Varosliget lake, the way I used to do when I was a kid, when we used our ten forint weekly allowance to splurge on the boating ticket. Now it was 25 forints, plus 12.60 for the children (who ever figured this out to the penny?) and a 20 forint deposit in case I should break the oars. We were getting nowhere fast on the water when my sons got tired of the whole thing. Then back to the car, worrying all the way that if anything happened to it, the responsibility was going to be mine.

That's it! Responsibility. By now I know, this is what made me nervous, this is what got me into the darkest of moods: if I spot that old lady again, well--I'll be a...what? Will I yell at her or will I tell her to go do this or that or the other thing? Anyway she isn't to blame. All she wants is earn a little bit to supplement her two thousand forint and something of a widow's pension. This is just the job they happened to put her in.

Sometimes a man gets carried away with unspeakable emotion. He would attack and it doesn't matter if his opponent is helpless. Perhaps this is because I, too, feel helpless more often than not. My life is studded with those shameful moments when I am impotently turning tail and who knows where and when I get to vent by pent-up rage. As recently as last week...I take my slacks to Patyolat, they return them clean allright, but the pant legs have shrunk ten centimeters. They say it's my responsibility and all I can do is investigate whether or not they are right. Next day I spend a fortune on a railroad ticket. I can't see through the window, the toilet is locked because it's out of order. All MAV has done is raise prices, but sooner or later it'll be cheaper to travel by car than to buy a second class seat on a shaky local train. In this case I happen to know that MAV doesn't get a penny out of the price increase, so that it is in no position to improve travel conditions. They don't have the means. And yesterday at the OTP branch...

I've got to stop writing, my trend of thought is broken because the doorbell rings. The man from the waterworks is at the door. He wants to check the faucets because too much water is being wasted in the council-run apartments. He jots it down: a certain KC gasket in the faucet bases must be replaced. It will be fixed for 252 forints, please sign here. I scribble my name on the "control sheet"--and I think the "landlord" will reimburse the waterworks, as my monthly rent was increased only last month to 621 forints. But now I'm getting to be quite careful and I ask: "Who's going to pay the price of the KC gaskets?" The man from the waterworks waits until I've affixed the last letter of my name and then responds: "Who else but you?" But my faucet isn't even leaking--I stammer. To which he: "It will, because the gaskets are worn." I am not obligated to have it fixed by them, but on September 2nd they'll come to check and if I still have the same old gaskets, the council is going to fine me. On the other hand the toilet, which is really leaking,

that's another story. The tank has to be replaced by IKV and one half of the cost is my responsibility. He will give me a certificate I can take to IKV who must complete the job by September 16th (which means they are more lenient with the "utility" regarding the matter of deadlines) but I better hurry, because IKV is very busy and when the deadline expires and they find a faulty tank, it's me again they're going to fine. If I want to protest I'm free to do so, just go and see the central office.

My program for next week is as follows: I go to the water works about the faucet, to Patyolat about the price of the slacks, then to the Ministry of Finance regarding the condition of the railroads. And I keep insisting: I don't want anything except, please, some of the time at least, share with me the responsibility as well as the financial burden. And without trying to hurt anybody's feelings, just this once, somebody please believe me, I'm not an enemy you have to act and proceed against; because how low is this world going to sink if any lousy customer can feel free to pester officialdom, and is permitted to make reference to duties and responsibilities?

12759

CSO: 2500/500

GABCIKOVO-NAGYMAROS 'APPROVED' FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Aug 85 p 5

/Article: "Energy, Navigation, Environment. Status Report on the Construction of the Bos (Gabcikovo)-Nagymaros Dam Project"/

[Text] Special attention is devoted worldwide to the versatile uses of water, since the importance of water power has significantly increased as a result of the energy crisis and the necessity of more stringent environmental protection requirements. A significant advantage of water power is that it is inexhaustible and hydroelectric plants produce no harmful by-products. In addition to increasing energy output, the system will make flood and inland water control more secure in nearly every instance, ensure the supply of water and provide opportunities for the expansion of shipping as well as tourism.

In 1977 the Hungarian People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic concluded an agreement concerning the construction and operation of the Bos (Gabcikovo)-Nagymaros system. In 1983 the construction timetable specified in the agreement was modified because of changes in economic conditions and circumstances that occurred over time. The modified agreement projected the completion of the system by 1995.

The technical plans for the barrage call for the damming of the Danube at Dunakiliti, thus creating a uniform water level up till Pozsony on the territory enclosed by presently existing levees. A 25 kilometer-long canal will extend from the Danube above the level of the dam, the upper section of which will travel through levees for 17 kilometers to the Bos (Gabcikovo) Barrage and the lower portion of which will flow into the Danube near the vicinity of Szap (Palkovicovo) Township.

The Bos (Gabcikovo) system, with a capacity of 720 megawatts, will also be equipped with navigation locks since the canal will be the main navigable waterway. The Danube between Dunakiliti and Szap (Palkovicovo)--which is continuously supplied with fresh water from the dam--will remain a continuously flowing watercourse, and when necessary, will participate in the diversion of flood waters and ice. The presently excessive ground water flow on the plains will become more balanced and conditions for diverting inland waters will be improved.

The water level necessary for navigation between the Bos (Gabcikovo) system.

and the Nagymaros will be regulated by the Nagymaros dam. Its hydroelectric power plant will have a 160 megawatt capacity; here too, navigation will be effected by the use of locks. The structure will also serve as a bridge between Nagymaros and Visegrad.

Of the projects, the Bos (Gabcikovo) system, the canal and the larger part of the Dunakiliti Reservoir will be built on Czechoslovak territory. The Dunakiliti dam, the smaller part of the reservoir as well as the Nagymaros system will be built on Hungarian territory. The Hungarian-Czechoslovak border will remain unchanged. Fifty percent of the electric power produced by the hydroelectric power plants will go to Hungary, i.e., 1.8 billion kilowatt hours, which is the equivalent of 650-700,000 tons of heating oil per year. A further advantage is that if demand were suddenly to increase or disturbances occur, the hydroelectric power plants could, within a short period of time, provide the Hungarian power network with significant amounts of electric power over and above the continuous supply of electricity.

The emergence of the navigation route, in accordance with the recommendations of the Danube Committee, will also satisfy long-range requirements. The often still present traffic restrictions will be lifted, navigation around the clock will become possible and, as a result of the deeper water level, the barges may be loaded with more goods.

In Szigetkoz, which has been struck by severe flooding several times, flood control security will increase significantly and the regulation of ground water levels provide an opportunity to improve agricultural conditions and forestry production. Numerous projects will also be built within the context of the construction program: The Danube Bend road system will be modernized, the regional canalization and sewage treatment of the Nagymaros-Visegrad-Domos plain will be solved, the adjustments along the banks will improve environmental conditions as well as the development of settlements. The opportunities afforded by the increased water areas, the inclusion of the Szigetkoz tributaries in the constant flow of water traffic, the stabilization of the water output of the Mosoni Danube and its isolation from the water flow of the Danube will indirectly exercise a favorable effect on living conditions of the plain.

Favorable changes may also be expected in the development of the water quality of the Danube. In the past, sewage treatment plants have been built in Vienna and Pozsony, and in Slovakia, work is in progress to improve the water quality of the Vag. The long overdue construction of the sewage treatment plants in Győr, Komárom, Esztergom, Tatabánya and Óroszlány will begin during the seventh Five-Year Plan.

After the completion of the Bos (Gabcikovo)-Nagymaros system, the water passing over the system turbines will be capable of absorbing large amounts of oxygen, thus increasing its capacity for self-purification. At present, the water quality of the Szigetkoz tributaries of the Danube is generally poor during the last phase of the summer; however, with the construction of the system, the constant replenishment of the tributaries will be solved, and a continuously refreshed, well-cared for water table will develop.

On the whole, the water quality in this section of the Danube will also improve.

The completion of the system will enrich the waters below the Szigetkoz channel deposits with fresh water and the formation of a stable water level will increase well capacities along the Danube, thereby also expanding the potable water supply.

The synchronized operation of the Dunakiliti dam and the Bos (Gabcikovo) and Nagymaros systems will also provide the means for most flexibly and beneficially satisfying energy production as well as water requirements, and even the existing needs of the flora and fauna of the Danube. Therefore, the operation of the dam will be coordinated by a detailed, rigorous operational plan. Computers will constantly monitor the water levels, and the complex environmental measuring and monitoring system to be developed will also promote rational operation.

The system will increase flood control security. During flooding, energy production will gradually cease, damming will stop, and the Danube channel will safely carry away the excess water. Thus, in these instances, the water flow of the Danube will be identical to its present flow; however, the water will be distributed among the by-pass canals, thus increasing flood control security in Szigetkoz. The security is provided by the levees and protective works along the section below it which belong to the Nagymaros system. During flooding, the suspended damming also means that even a powerful earthquake could not initiate a situation where dangerous flooding could begin. The Nagymaros system will continuously channel off water; therefore, the flow of the Danube in the section below the Nagymaros and the water supply of the wells serving Budapest will be the same as they are today.

The plans pay particular attention to the city and environment of Esztergom. The projects constructed in the vicinity of the city will also be suitable for retaining even the highest levels of flood water. The regulated water plane of the Kis Danube will no longer depend on that of the Danube. Aesthetic embankments will be constructed and the danger of ground water will finally stop; this will also provide new opportunities for urban development.

In consideration of the exceptional beauty of the Danube Bend, the planners took special care to insure that the structures associated with the Nagymaros system will blend into the landscape harmoniously. They provided for the regulation of the areas around the banks, and for the most sensible and aesthetic solutions for the buildings, forestation and landscaping. Vacationing and sporting opportunities will be improved by the newly developed water surface.

The versatile utilization of rivers is an important consideration but it must also be remembered that artificial interference with water systems has inherent dangers. Therefore, scientific rigor and preparation, and wide-ranging and circumspect research is necessary to appropriately implement this type of intervention. This is the purpose of the complex study based on years of scientific research exploring the environmental impact of the Bos (Gabcikovo)-Nagymaros system, which was recognized by the Council of Ministers; the Council simultaneously ordered the continuation of certain environmental protection studies.

The construction and later, the operation of the system will present new and

demanding tasks for a whole range of scientific disciplines, industry and the construction industry. The disciplined and organized work and creative cooperation of the research, planning and executive collectives participating in the preparation and implementation of the construction with the Czechoslovak builders is indispensable if the Bos (Gabcikovo) system is to be completed in 1990, if the Nagymaros system is to begin operation in 1993 and if the entire project is to be finished by 1995.



Figure 1. General Plan of the Bos (Gabcikovo)–Nagymaros system.

Key:

- |                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Bos (Gabcikovo) system | 4. Nagymaros system |
| Hydroelectric plant       | Dam                 |
| Lock                      | Hydroelectric plant |
| Vehicular bridge          | Lock                |
| 2. By-pass canal          | Vehicular bridge    |
| 3. Dunakiliti Reservoir   | 5. Dunakiliti dam   |

9956

CSO: 2500/491

HUNGARY

VAGARIES OF PRE-NATAL, PREGNANT MOTHERS' MEDICAL CARE

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 9 Aug 85 pp 32-33

[Article by Agner Javor: "Symptoms of a Burden"]

[Text] The story is real. It would be nice if these people would recognize themselves, for it would mean that they still have some self-criticism left and it would annul my secret charge that those who only (under) write no longer read.

If those who were not exactly part of these events would also recognize themselves, they would be the Corrigible Recognizers. But I must admit that I am afraid, this will be read mostly by those who had themselves suffered the symptoms of a burden. Or they will, but they still belong to the group of happy inexperienced ones.

After one induced and two spontaneous abortions, Vera felt the hope of a possibly last chance, waiting for certainty. Although her symptoms were rather unambiguous, she decided to wait a month before seeing a doctor.

It was at the end of spring when we met, and she was rather anxious.

"Imagine, on her way to Lake Balaton, my friend stayed at our place with her son when her rubeola was recognized. We have already called my mother but she does not remember whether or not I had had rubeola. I had had all other illnesses but this is uncertain. I am a month pregnant and if I caught it ..."

"Where are you going now?"

"First to the Vaci Street and then to the Gyali Street."

To my greatest anxiety, she pulled 3 test tubes from her woven bag, all 3 full of blood.

"These were drawn just a few minutes ago. You know, we must be completely certain within 3 months whether or not I am infected. Rubeola is no joke: during these weeks it causes irreparable damage to the fetus in which case the pregnancy is terminated. For it is certain now, I am 6 weeks pregnant.

One tube of blood goes to the public Health and Medical Clinic for Contagious Diseases' testing for rubeola at the Vaci Street, another to the bacteriology, and the third to the Gyali Street where it will be tested too."

"And why are you carrying them?"

"The hospital does not have enough personnel, so the outpatients take the specimens to the labs themselves. One thing is certain: in a month this test will have to be repeated, now I see at least where my blood ends up. Only I wish it were not so hot! I have already been close to passing out in the subway, maybe I will go by taxi, for at work they know only about the blood test."

"Did you choose this hospital or do you live in this district?"

"The whole thing is accidental. A few months ago, when my second miscarriage began, the doctor in the office was not the district doctor but since there was apparent trouble, he sent me to the hospital right away. We have never met before but he saw my pain and anguish, he wrote on the paper that it is urgent, and told me a name I should ask for when I go in. The person with that name was a young, attractive and conscientious doctor but he could not help either, the miscarriage was finished two days later. We agreed then that if I will become pregnant again after the compulsory waiting period, I will go to him again. I think one is reluctant to change one's dentist and gynecologist very frequently. Especially when one finds a conscientious one. At least this is the way I am."

The district reception rooms are always crowded, especially when sick leaves are checked, every Wednesday between 8 and 11 A.M. Of course, this does not mean that the army of patients quietly disappears during the 3 hours. Everyone has an appointment at 8 A.M. for this is the way the supervising doctor likes it. Although he rarely comes before 8:30, he appreciates it if he does not have to wait. It is not good to defy him for if one comes later, she will have to wait until all gynecological examinations are over. Rules are rules, even if unwritten! The expectant mother hates to wait, it is not easy for her. She does not like running after the trolley, for she cannot do that easily, and if the next one is late, then she can expect the retribution awaiting her at the doctor's office. She is only on sick leave, in need of a signature!

"I did not want to go on sick leave," Vera excuses herself.

"I did not plan to join the rank of hysterical expectant mothers, for there is enough of them. My boss also promised that I will not have to work too hard and asked me to stay because I am needed. One of my co-workers just found another job and left precisely at the time when our work load increased. I do not like idleness and we also need the money. When it was found out at a party that I am an adult educator and my husband is a historian, they looked at us as if we were disadvantaged: how do they make a living? We do not exactly starve but we cannot count on sick leave pay, we cannot afford to. But now I had no choice, for the district gynecologist told me that



I must go on sick leave since the earlier events indicated that my health was endangered. We also gave up our vacation which we paid for in advance, so that we can avoid the blame for not doing everything in the child's interest. We would have spent 2 weeks in Thuringia which would have cost us, together with the ariplane ticket, 4,000 forints. This sum would not be enough for a week at Lake Balaton. Well, they did not do me a favor when they put me on sick leave, and still, when I went for a checkup every 2 weeks, I always felt that yes, I must feel sick, I must not smile, for I am a sick patient who is now enjoying the benefits of social security. Do you not believe it? I can also give you concrete examples."

"As you know, at the beginning of my pregnancy the doctor who treated me earlier sent me for every possible test, for if I got pregnant so fast after the previous event, we should at least find out right at the beginning whether the cause of the miscarriages is something that can be treated. Fortunately, I did not contract smallpox, it turned out that I have immunity against it, so I must have been at one time infected by it. The other tests were also negative, so I only had to watch for not exerting myself, not to lift, not to carry heavy loads. I took the test results to the district doctor, too, and as they were finished just then, I gave it to them at the sick leave check. Well, I was told! Why do I go to another doctor and, anyway, why all these tests? I could not spit nor swallow. Although I would have liked to mention a few things. For example, that I find the district gynecological checkup entirely superfluous for, aside from determining my pregnancy at my first visit and asking whether I have any complaints, nothing happened. There were already 4 seals in my pregnancy book (this many are needed for being qualified for layette money) but the district doctor has not prescribed a single vitamin or iron tablet. From the first month on, I had to take strengthening tablets but no one knew about this at the time I was in my fourth month."

"Or, it was after a private visit when the blood test was done which would indicate a possible damage to the fetus. I was already in my sixth month when at the pregnancy care they wanted to send me for this test. Fortunately I understood the professional jargon when they filled out the blood test sheet and I told them, thank you, I had already been there. Although this test cannot be postponed either, for its purpose is to find out in time about a possible damage in the fetus' spine or brains so that the pregnant mother does not have to face an entire, hopeless pregnancy. I still do not understand why I had to go for a checkup every 2 weeks. They know that I must be on sick leave to the end, they know that my pregnancy is in danger, and I still must be in the crowd in the heat, in the rain, in the wind, I must stand at the trolley stop, for I am not being offered a seat, for sure; I must sit, waiting to be called, and I must tolerate the doctor's rudeness. This is what the real danger is! Whether you believe it or not, the only reason I must go is to see the doctor's technique of signing the filled-out form. Then I take it to my workplace, they forward it so that I will receive my sick pay. By the way, right now they are 6 weeks behind, this is the difference in time between filling out the form and receiving the money. It is a luck that I received 500 forints every month from my group insurance: several times this has been my only income I can count on."

"How was it actually with that transfer order?"

"Well, that is a splendid story! I was already in my seventh month when, at the prior visit, the doctor determined that I must be sewn up right away, for my cervix has disappeared and I may loose the child at any moment. Since these visits are always in the evening, the doctor recommended that I ask for a transfer order the next day and go in the hospital. This is the doctor to whom I was sent earlier and who treated me from my first month on, but since he does not work in my district, he can only see me privately.

"Well, I got scared. My husband took care of obtaining the transfer order. He was gone about an hour when my neighbor told me that he is on the telephone. He angrily told me that he went in and the following conversation took place between him and the doctor:

"Why is it you who came?"

"Because my wife is sick."

"If she is so sick, why is she not in the hospital?"

"But I came precisely to get the transfer order ..."

"And why is it you who came?"

"Let it suffice to add that all expectant mothers, whom I met while waiting for pregnancy care or sick leave checkup, also had their private doctors, not by their own choice though. Some had earlier experiences at the district medical center, others felt, after one or two visits, anguish rather than confidence toward the doctor. But, believe me, this is not an inexpensive affair."

"Fortunately, I ended up in a really good company in the hospital. It was full, at a time of a "front" when the abortives become sick and those in the ninth month generally go into labor. Among us were a teacher, a kindergarten teacher, a clerk at foreign trade, a statistician, a hospital assistant and a chemical technician.

"We were of the same age and outlook. Five of the group gave birth, 4 of them for the first time; the assistant and myself came for a "darning." We helped one another when we could, trying to make the best of our hospital stay, accepting pain without complaint. While resting between breast feedings we often talked. We found out about each other's doctors, discussed how and how much must be paid for childbirth. The kindergarten teacher, who was the youngest and most joyful among us, came from Fot and her childbirth was helped by the assistant gynecologist. She gave him 3,000 forints, for she was told that this is the right amount for his rank. She was not sorry for it for, as she said, she came to the hospital for tests without ever having to pay a cent. The teacher's doctor is usually given 2,000 forints. It was he to whom she went in the last months. She also said that the proper time to give the money is when the stitches are taken out,

when the mother and the doctor are by themselves and when their cooperation may be considered closed. We had a good laugh at her story because she did not have the money when the stitches were taken out. She thought that she did not have to carry it with her, her husband would bring it in time. But her husband came only in the evening, and the stitches were taken out in the morning. And when he arrived with the 2,000 forints, the doctor was gone. They thought that they will give the money to the doctor the next day, but he took the money again with him when visiting was over. Really, I will ask her what they finally did. I still keep in contact with her and with the kindergarten teacher. Both have a beautiful Christine and both wish me luck -- this is a good feeling.

Fortunately my teeth had not deteriorated during my pregnancy but I could not avoid the dentist either. For what happened is that my bridge broke during breakfast. Well, fast to the dentist, who lives only a few minutes from our place. The dentist looked at it and then told me that it can be repaired in 2 months for 1,700 forints. I knew instantly that I cannot wait that long, for my child was expected in a month and a half. Thus until then I cannot eat right, not to speak of the fact that I was reluctant to go to the hospital without teeth. And it is not easy to go to a doctor when one has a newborn baby. This possibility was abandoned when I discussed it with my husband. With the help of a friend of mine we were able to find a private dentist who needed only a week for the repair, after he took off the crown and repolished the tooth. I wanted to cry only when, at my departure, he told me the price: 4,500 forints. I cannot express the helplessness I felt! Sick pay, insurance, union benefits -- they do not even approach this figure. In addition, every 2 or 3 weeks, 250 forints for the private visits. Numbers were swirling in my head and I became dizzy. I felt very sad and unfortunate. This was equal to my monthly pay even while I was working."

"And how do you feel now?"

"Joyful, thank you! I may begin the labor any day, and I was told today at the sick leave checkup that I must go back in a week."

"...?"

"My appointment was a week ago but I simply forgot it. During these 9 months I had to remember so many appointments and I forgot this one. But it is only on Wednesdays when one can go for a sick leave checkup, and today was the closest. The head physician, after drawing on his cigarette, noticed the mistake and, as a penalty, ordered me back not in 2 but in 1 week."

"Should I tell him now that in a week I will be nursing my baby? Or that I will be qualified for childbirth leave? I let it go. I will not go, that is for sure. It would not be proper, anyway, to play merry-andrew with my big belly, right? ..."

9414

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HUNGARY

FINDINGS OF STUDY ABOUT WORKERS' HOSTELS IN CAPITAL

Budapest MUNKAUGYI SZEMLE in Hungarian Jun 85 pp 26-29

[Article by Ferenc Szentivanyi: "About Workers' Hostels of the Capital, Lessons of a Series of Investigations"]

[Text] Opinions and views differ greatly regarding the situation of workers' hostels. The attitudes of the economic units as a function of requirements and possibilities are also variable. Workers' hostels which were planned earlier have not been built. Therefore, certain employers have sought to solve the problem of workers' housing with new solutions. This varied picture justified a more concrete assessment and evaluation of the actual situation.

The need for orientation was affirmed by the change in economic and management conditions, intensified sensitivity of the enterprises, reduced investments and the overall and structural tensions which continue to characterize the manpower situation in the capital. Therefore, we gathered on-site information at 13 capital-city employers--belonging to various branches of the economy--and at 16 workers' hostels or hostels for women operated by employers. To this end help was afforded by the Budapest Council of Trade Unions, the Trade Union of Municipal and City Government Employees and the four travel offices and their staff which provide information regarding services to paying guests. (In surveying the experiences we took into account the years 1981 to 1982, and in studying the trends of change the past 6 years.)

I. General Experiences, Findings

The employers who were studied had 24,938 beds in 1983, or about 70 percent of the spaces in Budapest. Space utilization is substantially better than the Budapest average, 93.6 percent in 1981 and 92.1 percent in 1983. The ratio of male workers at these hostels was higher than average, or about 84.6 percent. There were significant differences in quantity and quality among the 16 hostels that were examined in respect to the level of furnishings and equipment, crowding, conditions of livability and services beyond basic facilities. We observed that the morale of the workers living in these hostels was influenced beyond the objective conditions--frequently independently of these--in an important way by the attitudes of the fellow lodgers, the developing human relations or those already established, often a lack of interest, indifference and isolation; in general the character of the human environment.

Aside from infrequent exceptions, the conditions for placement in a workers' hostel or hostel for women--as fixed in collective contracts (labor regulations)--are that the applicant should be a worker for the employer who maintains or leases the hostel and should have his or her permanent residence outside of Budapest. As a function of available possibilities, some enterprises have additional limitations, or in individual cases of deserving merit they will make exceptions. (Those who are able to commute daily are generally not accepted. Preference is given to state wards, those who work under high-temperature conditions, middle cadre public health workers on more than one shift, and so forth.) In their area of activity two employers assume responsibility for the placement of workers from other enterprises and institutions. The ESZV (Construction Industry Services Enterprise) provides quarters for the construction industry workers, and the FAMN (Capital City Executive Committee for Temporary Workers' Hostels and Hostels for Women) provides quarters for the workers of the council's public health institutes. In addition to operating hostels for women, the FAMN also carries out a characteristic task in providing quarters for some who are socially in need. Exceptional placements are made for the most part in the case of those who do not have a place to live, who are in poor health but capable of living independently, who have suffered damage mentally or in mobility, young people who are being released from state care, and those who are being released from penal institutions. Moreover, they provide--under comparatively severe and strict conditions--the possibility of overnight shelter to those who are temporarily "without a roof," most frequently to individuals on the periphery of society.

The operators of the hostels inform all residents (prior to moving in) of their rights and obligations in the hostels, use of the quarters, and the observance of the rules of the house regarding security, cleanliness, order and discipline. Most of the house rules include acceptable restrictions, but are disputably strict in certain cases. Observance of some of the regulations is not enforced, or at the best is done superficially. Several of the restrictions serve to avert or limit the possible liability of the operators, or are made necessary by the want of objective conditions. (Only belongings and personal items necessary for a temporary stay of generally 2 weeks may be stored in the quarters; privately owned electrical equipment or alcohol in the quarters are forbidden; the place and time of visits are limited, and so forth.) For the resolution of restrictions frequently violated by the residents and the creation of the necessary conditions to that end, the ESZV is in the forefront. The use of privately owned electrical equipment is allowed in its hostels, alcohol may be brought in, and guests may also be received in the rooms. (An internal surveillance supports the work of the operating personnel.) Security guards have been established in all its hostels, and this example is being followed increasingly by others. The establishment of guest rooms made it possible for married couples to visit and be together with a charge of 110 forints a day for each day of the Budapest visit. The FAMN has sought to solve one of the most sensitive problems in one of its hostels for women by permitting visits from the opposite sex in the rooms at stipulated times (3 days a week). It is characteristic of the complexity of the problem that in quarters that provide living conditions with all the amenities, a significant ratio (about 30 percent) no longer approves of the introduction or continuation of the favor.

Even in the case of the same operating organization, extreme differences are in evidence in the work of the self-government organs operating in the hostels. In the opinion of the employers and the residents, the operation of the room and discipline committees in about one half of the hostels leaves much to be desired. The main reasons for this are latent in a lack of interest, great fluctuation, private pre-occupation, and frequently the perceived or actual unpopularity of tasks related to the holding of office. Aside from several exceptions, this situation is also reflected by the fact that eviction is resorted to only in cases of extreme necessity, in intolerable and repeated cases. The most frequent cause for withdrawing the right of residence is drunken brawling, rowdyism, wilful destruction of property and unlawful stealing. Even such cases, occurring sometimes repeatedly, may be ignored, particularly in certain job areas where there are chronic manpower shortages. (Over a period of 3 years, 624 persons were evicted from the hostels operated by the 13 employers, or 2.7 percent of the residents' annual average.)

In order to improve the conditions of the residents and increase their comforts, all of the operators under study carried out renovations, repairs and modernization to a lesser or greater extent.

With this and parallel with the opening of the newly established hostels they not only made up for the quarters that were lost because of the reduction of beds designed to reduce crowding, but contrary to the general trend in the capital they increased quarters by 20 percent.

In addition to this, however, various enterprises--along with the continuous renovation and modernization of their hostels--eliminated those temporary or permanent hostels that could not be run economically or renovated. In the course of this process they closed down 14 workers' hostels in 3 years. Of these they returned seven to the lessor (the district council), sold two of them for a different type of use, and four they turned to other, characteristically operational, use. One hostel is being transformed into a pensioners' home, which will make it possible to make service homes of them.

In addition to modernization of the hostels, of course, the maintaining organizations also expanded the scope of services over and above the basic facilities without the charging of fees. Today, rooms equipped with radios, television (in many places color television), household appliances (washing machine, refrigerator, sewing machine, garbage disposal, iron, hair dryer) may be called the general rule. In addition to cooking and bathing facilities, a laundry, dryer, social room, library, and often various club rooms and physical conditioning facilities are to be found. High-level cultural and sport programs are being increasingly organized. The old iron beds and dressers have been replaced with modern furniture.

The ESZV offers its residents outstandingly high-level conditions and a broad scale of services. Three hot meals a day are available at their hostels. The rooms have in general three to four beds. The deputy heads of the hostels are popular educators whose work is supported by librarians and part-time assistants. Special circles and clubs are in operation, TIT [Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge] lectures are held and films are shown, and leisure parks have been established around the hostels. Objective

conditions have been established for various kinds of sports. In several hostels there are hair dressers and beauticians; in two hostels there is a theater, and in one there is an outdoor movie theater and a sauna. Houses with rooms for rent are also operated where families may live. The conditions here surpass the traditional concepts of a workers' hostel, and thus the fees are also higher (a one-bed room costs 700 forints per month, a two-bed room 1,000 forints per month).

Modest but for married couples very important facilities are offered by two family hostels with 14 rooms by the MAV [Hungarian State Railways] Budapest Administration. It is characteristic of the great demand that 20 married couples are in line for vacancies.

We found exceptionally good housing conditions at one of the FAMN hostels for women where in a building originally designed for an apartment house there are apartments with one, one-and-a-half, two, two-and-a-half rooms and with all the amenities, with one bed in a half room. In an apartment that is used at the most by five persons, the residents value very highly the well-equipped kitchen, refrigerator and bath.

The two hostels of the Budapest Postal Administration at Dunakeszi are in need of modernization but the small soccer field and tennis court, the pleasant environment and the planned boathouse provide outstanding relaxation and a sense of well-being.

With the modernization tasks, the maintaining organizations must also take economic and financial constraints into consideration in addition to providing the material cover for the problems of technical implementation. Replacing, supplementing and exchanging the old, cheap furniture and equipment with new quality items means a significant rise in inventory levels--because the prices are 5 to 10 times greater--and at the same time the rate of circulation naturally deteriorates, the unfavorable effect of which must also be taken into account. The investors must pay a construction tax on the establishment of residents' sports fields for which they believe--as in the case of sport clubs--they should receive exemptions. At the overall enterprise level these costs represent generally a negligible ratio, the scope is insignificant, but in their field of activity they have an important meaning for the organizations that carry out the operation of the hostels.

## II. Level of Hostel Utilization

The level of utilization of the investigated workers' hostels and the hostels for women was 93.6 percent in 1981 and 92.1 percent in 1982, which in itself can be classified as good. In 2 years a small-scale regression was in evidence despite the fact that the majority of the operators made important and for the most part successful efforts at placing their workers when a vacancy occurred. Despite the decline in the degree of occupancy, little use was made of renting the vacant rooms of the hostels, and where this became a practice they "accepted" only workers of their own subcontractors or affiliates, annually only about 250 to 400 persons.

In addition to granting housing to workers in enterprises belonging to the construction industry portfolio, the ESZV rents unused quarters to any employer according to prevailing possibilities. In the interest of more profitable operation, the ESZV--in agreement with the renter and reimbursing 50 percent of the fee--will sublet quarters that are already rented out but not permanently used. As a profitable initiative, particularly on weekends, free quarters are let out not as workers' quarters but made available to tourists for a fee of 110 forints per day under contract with the Express Youth and Student Travel Bureau. The shortage of weekend working personnel, the wage regulation form and to certain degree moderate interest hinder the further development of this practice.

Because of the manpower shortage some employers have problems with hiring operational personnel, most frequently janitorial personnel and porters. Often workers also live in the provinces and travel home to their families on weekends. Thus a given hostel may be operated only during the week. In addition to weekend occupancy, an independent problem may arise in that some hostels can accept only the workers of a limited unit, or workers who do the same job, that is, only workers on the same schedule can be accommodated. Workers who are often engaged on three shifts cannot be placed in these hostels.

Some of the hostels for women experience seasonally low occupancy in summer, partly because the September beginners have not as yet arrived but those quitting have already departed, that is, there are some who are continuously leaving because they quit or are marrying.

Most of the residents' problems come from the visitation rules, scarcity of refrigerators and maintenance problems. Noteworthy complaints are voiced, chiefly by the residents in rented rooms, that despite the high level of facilities they do not feel at ease in their hostels because they are frequently subjected to atrocious acts by others living there, mostly to the attitudes and behavior of unskilled workers and gypsies. It is difficult to discipline some of the workers assigned there for social reasons, for some abuse their positions and show unacceptable behavior even toward their colleagues.

The employers see their advantages and needs in reducing manpower problems assured by employing paying-guests for the maintenance and operation of the hostels.

On the basis of our study results, our preliminary information and available data, it can be said that most of the employers have recognized their interest, advantages and needs in maintaining workers' hostels and hostels for women. Despite the difficult economic circumstances, they have made successful efforts of continuously modernizing their hostels and creating higher level conditions by relying on central regulations and guidelines. Overall in Budapest--if not in every case and everywhere--the placement of the declining number of capital workers (because of the effect of other factors) requiring hostel quarters was and is being assured. The decline in the number of workers is in harmony with the trend of change in provincial manpower and at present is proceeding in the same direction.



According to the technical norm, the number of quarters in the Budapest workers' hostels declined rapidly in the 1970's with the elimination of bunk beds, and by 1980 fell by one half in certain hostels. Parallel with this, the old iron beds---which were generally bunk beds---and poor furniture was replaced with modern couches and room furniture, and this not only reduced the crowding but improved to a large degree the residents' sense of comfort.

The intensive rate of decline slowed down in 1981, but continues at a more moderate pace to the present. In 1981 the average number of quarters in Budapest declined by about 7 percent to 35,085, which affords opportunity for the placement of 3.6 percent of the workers in Budapest in the socialist sector.

The decline in recent years is the consequence of the modernization of the hostels, frequent remodeling and the elimination of small, old and uncategorized hostels which cannot be operated profitably or renovated. This has been balanced only in part by the building of new, high-quality, and generally larger hostels. The relatively small decline in the number of quarters has been moderated by the fact that we have succeeded in improving by leaps and bounds the living conditions, the level of services above basic facilities, in providing a more pleasant and civilized place to live.

Let us note that in many instances the quality improvements are due to or were constrained by the Ministry of Labor Decree 18/1979 December 1 and the previous Ministry of Labor regulations. The classification of the workers' hostels according to new and strict conditions and the elimination of unclassified hostels by a deadline, had a stimulating and sometimes a compelling effect on the operators. Despite the general improvements, extreme differences are still in evidence in the level of the hostels and the characteristic conditions. The objective conditions are the most favorable in the construction industry, and in the case of hostels for women in the public health field. The more modern, higher level housing conditions are also indicated by changes in the distribution of hostels according to categories.

The ratio of hostels with the most unfavorable conditions (Category V, unclassified and temporary) declined in such a way that as a result the Category II hostels with outstanding conditions grew, i.e. the number and ratio of their quarters increased.

The level of occupancy in capital city quarters is surprisingly unfavorable. Even knowing the hostel problems of some employers and the number of paying guests who are in service capacity, we regard as unacceptable the low level and the declining nature of hostel use. In 1981 the average number of residents in workers' hostels was 31,515, which corresponds to an occupancy of 83.6 percent. But by 1983 this had declined to 28,145, or 80.2 percent. With the 10.7 percent decline in the number of residents, the number of workers placed in the hostels of other employers declined from 21,770 residents to 17,531, or by 19.5 percent. The decrease can be explained on the one hand by the termination of rented quarters and on the other hand by the improper attitude of the operators who reluctantly and unwillingly grant quarters to the workers of other employers except under outside pressure. The main reasons for this we find in the effort at greater security, an exaggerated emphasis on reserves for future requirements

and enterprise isolation. In some cases there is also a fear of manpower mobility, and more rarely, complicated attitudes deriving from legal regulations as, for example, indemnification and its implementation, which belongs to civil law and frequently involves long legal suits.

Most of the residents at hostels, almost 80 percent, or 21,155 in 1983, are men. They are generally easier to place than women, for approximately 6,200 women occupy virtually all the quarters. Thus the women often have to wait a longer time for a room. The number of family hostels increased, but in general these are small, not very modern, and the number of married couples who have been placed in these is not large. For the most part employers are nervous about establishing and maintaining such hostels. This may be ascribed both to economic and legal factors. For example, the birth of children brings contradictory problems whose solutions--materially and legally--are beyond the possibilities of the operators.

A new and promising solution appears to be a home of room renters operated as a workers' hostel, which resolves the contradictions of the family hostel and is actually useful and suitable--although undoubtedly only as an emergency solution for the temporary placement of families (including children). Unfortunately the planned goal--the temporary nature of the home--can be realized only in a limited way because of the small extent of fluctuation and the long time it takes to acquire a place.

A significant ratio of the employers--partly because they have no hostels, or have only a few and partly because they cannot contract for quarters by other employers (or do not regard this as an effective solution)--provides for the placement of their workers under paying-guest service. The price for this is generally higher than the costs for those placed in workers hostels. The conditions of placement are not unconditionally better than in Category II hostels, there are no cultural, educational or sport facilities available, or they are limited to radio and television programs. In the framework of the paying-guest service, the employers placed 8,645 persons in 1981, 7,363 persons in 1982, and 8,668 persons in 1983. Some of them are foreigners, mostly Polish guest workers. Generally quarters have been provided in hostels for the Cubans and the Poles in the construction industry.

The fee paid at workers' hostels, hostels for women and in the framework of paying-guest service is only a small fraction of the actual cost. The operators' overhead cost for one worker maintained at a hostel amounts to 1,000 to 3,000 forints, while the employer pays out about 3,000 to 6,000 forints in the case of paying-guest service. On the other hand, the residents pay at the most 220 forints for an obviously better and higher quality placement. Some of the residents do not appreciate the importance of the subsidy, and frequently they regard the occasional, for the most part technical problems--which also occur in apartment houses--as serious deficiencies.

While it is not a direct housing placement form, the employer's sublease allowance belongs to this subject area. Besides the allowance--300 to 800 forints monthly per person--this subsidy does not signify any kind of additional charge or obligation. It is up to the worker to find the sublease and to arrive at the agreement, and generally he must supply all the furnishings.

For this reason the workers tend to depreciate the sublease allowance and the moral and material value of the support--actually they regard it as a pay supplement.

### III. Further Tasks

In the course of our study we found continuous and rapid improvements in the housing conditions at workers' hostels and hostels for women, in the improvement of amenities, and in the higher quality level of services. The housing is essential for almost all the residents, and only under such a condition could they work for the employer. Even more important than their numbers, and worthy of special note, is the fact that their work is performed in the most critical areas and in job areas struggling with the most severe manpower shortages, and thus their work under these conditions is indispensable to the employers and the whole economy. A further possibility is represented by the state wards starting a career, or the employment possibilities for youth from the provinces, which is of such outstanding importance.

Recognizing the successful efforts of most of the operating employers, we recommend, in the interest of further advancing the successes, that the operators should grant in greater scope and extent housing possibilities to the workers of other enterprises if they have unoccupied quarters. The number of workers living in the provinces and commuting weekly is increasing temporarily somewhat--primarily for demographic reasons--in the Seventh Five-Year Plan. A condition of this increase is an increase in the number of family hostels, and even more in the number of quarters for renters. To accelerate fluctuation here, we recommend preferences for those who undertake greater controlled, advanced savings.

If the proper use cannot be periodically (primarily on weekends) realized, it would be advisable to promote tourist-type use with the modification of Ministry of Labor Decree 18/1979 December 1 and the creation of individual material incentive.

It would be justified to study the provisions limiting the housing placement of sedentary workers in the framework of the paying-guest service. Rather than a short, rigid deadline of 2 months we would regard a prescriptive prohibition against possible abuses exclusively as to the purpose.

The role and significance of the workers' hostels will not decrease in years to come. They will continue to be a significant factor in capital city manpower recruitment, and thus it will be justified to raise the level of their quality even if there is no significant change in the number of quarters.

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POLAND

20TH PLENUM CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS' REMARKS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Jun 85 p 4

[Statements by candidate members, committee members and party officials at the 20th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee]

[Text] [Statement by Bogumil Ferensztajn, KC [Central Committee] candidate member, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] in Katowice]

It is true that the party has changed a great deal in recent years. Its ranks have been purged; it has gained strength. No one may question this. This does not mean, however, that everything has already been accomplished and that we need not pay closer attention to shortcomings or weakly operating organizations. The political struggle is continuing and we should remember that, for the enemy, every means to achieve a goal is good. He will seek out our weak points, which are organizations that work poorly.

In the provincial party organization, we are not looking for new, miraculous solutions; we are not bandying lofty slogans; we are not increasing the size of our ranks at any price. On the other hand, we have adopted many new work methods whose general goal is to activate the provincial organization. We have been successful not only in curbing the trend of dropping out of the party and of achieving a stable membership, but, more importantly, we have succeeded in acquiring new valuable members.

In our province, on the basis of the party's initiative, party-economic staffs have been appointed at all levels to coordinate efforts to catch up with the winter work backlog. Already now the losses, estimated at approximately 35 billion zlotys, have declined by nearly 40 percent. Frequently plants complain that there is a shortage of goods and that the situation in Poland is difficult. Meanwhile, last week most of them treated themselves to 4 days off. We view this fact negatively. We have appointed a commission to make an assessment of those enterprises that were not in operation for 4 days.

In the selection of cadres and in cadre policy, there exists the so-called problem of the party-mindedness of the leadership cadre, especially the directors. We have informed all organizations and echelons that it is not merely a question of one's membership in the party or an allied party from the formal viewpoint, but, above all, a question of one's sociopolitical attitude, i.e., one's identification with the goals and policy of the party.

[Statement by Zdzislaw Wasniowski, KC candidate member, private farmer from Smielin village, Sadki gmina, Bydgoszcz Province]

For 3 years the membership of our gmina party organization has increased continually. The number of private farmers in the party has grown, demonstrating approval of the party's agricultural policy. Based on the party's initiative and the inspiration of its members, during the last 2 years we have embarked upon social actions in the gmina having a general value of 17 million zlotys.

Comrade Janicki criticized many matters and has the right to do this. As a farmer, however, I am not in favor of pointing to the top and expecting it to settle everything. It would be better if we found out how the party is being strengthened at the URSUS Plant, when the new tractors will be ready and when their quality will improve. If one wishes to make order, he first must get his own farm in order.

It is my belief that at present, the rural primary party organizations are slowly renewing themselves. Our members are good farmers who have real authority; often, they serve as models in farm production that are worth imitating. More than half of the village administrators in the province are PZPR members. However, this does not alter the broader assessment that shows that, in rural areas, we are regressing in our political impact. The influx of new members is too slow by comparison with demands and expectations.

[Statement by Jerzy Trzesniewski, KC member, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Warsaw Works]

Today's plenary meeting should make a diagnosis of our internal condition and of our effectiveness in impacting on the course of the sociopolitical processes taking place in Poland. The answer is neither simple nor easy. Certainly, we are different from the way we were in 1980 or in mid-1981, but is the slogan formulated at the Seventh KC Plenum: "The same party, but not the same kind of party" borne out in everyday practice?

The party statute passed at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress gave primary organizations a great deal of autonomy; it ushered in real possibilities for intraparty democracy. These statutory precepts are applied in practice every day in the work of party organizations and echelons at the various levels. We are able to exercise our rights effectively; however, we are not as successful in the performance of our duties. Many party members treat resolutions and statutory obligations as if they did not pertain to them.

The road of socialist renewal is not strewn with roses. The internal enemies of socialism, supported by Western principals, stand along this road. But this cannot be the only explanation for the lack of the full effectiveness of the activities embarked upon by the party.

[Statement by Edmund Baczkiewicz, KC member, senior foreman at the POMET Metallurgical Plant in Poznan]

The annex to the statute ushered in at the Ninth Congress which enables party members that are retiring to remain in plant organizations had the purpose, in the current political situation, of keeping a tested and experienced cadre, seasoned in political struggle, in plant organizations. However, the experiences of the recent period are not fully concurrent with intentions.

What is worst is that the possibility of keeping retirees in plant POP's [Primary Party Organizations] weakens local party organizations. Deprived of the natural influx of members from among pensioners, they have become smaller and continue to diminish in numbers, while they are aging shockingly. The temporary or intermittent delegating of activists from plant organizations does not guarantee a continuous flow of systematic work for local POP's. This reduces the party's impact on nonproduction life and on self-governing and social organizations that operate residentially. Life abhors a vacuum, and so we are replaced by a crush of people with ideologies different from our own. It seems essential that the 10th Congress resolve the problem of retirees in a different way. But is there something we could already do now?

Point 42 of the PZPR Statute enables the creation of local working groups from among party members living in a given area. This provision offers a solution to the problem.

The approaching Sejm elections are an important political campaign. We must keep in mind that these elections represent an enormous party responsibility before the nation for the proper selection of candidates for deputy and for their presentation for society's approval.

[Statement by Krystian Luczak, PZPR KW first secretary in Wloclawek]

The majority of the party's primary elements have overcome passivity; they have become strengthened after experiencing internal shocks; they have broken down isolation; the position of the political leader and confidence in him have been regained at plants and in communities. While there are certainly fewer party members today than there were 5 years ago, new members join from month to month.

I agree with the assertion that the processes of the emergence of primary party organizations from the dark shadows are occurring unevenly. Weaknesses and shortcomings continually occur in some spheres. The village, and especially small rural organizations, are such areas in the Wloclawek party organization.

Continually, we note that direct contact with the authorities, including those of the party, is expected. Here we encounter serious difficulties. If we support the direct contact of our full-time secretaries with people, then party committees that are made up of one or two persons will cease functioning as an institution.

Experience teaches that the elimination of negative phenomena, the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance of misdeeds, laziness and the lack of basic good will, the tackling of difficult problems and their joint resolution with interested groups of people and the support people find in the party are the factors that determine the effectiveness of party work.

[Statement by Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission]

As the report accurately pointed out, the period of ideological confusion and organizational slackness in the party has been overcome. The party has purged itself of many persons that did it a great deal of harm during its most difficult period, complicating the consolidation process.

From the Ninth Congress until the end of 1984, a total of more than 36,000 persons were removed from the party, the vast majority for ideological-political attitudes out of compliance with the statute. However, it would be wrong to say that concern over the ideological unity of the party and its organizational cohesiveness sometime may disappear from our field of vision. It is a basic matter of bringing into line anyone that attacks the political program sketched out by the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress. I share the view that those that, at their own request, have left the party, may petition for re-acceptance into its ranks; however, they cannot expect a restoration of the rights of party member and the recognition of their party seniority.

Requests for the restoration of party membership made by persons stricken not because they turned in their party identification cards, but because of their so-called passivity, are of a different nature. Many instances of formalism and apathy in these cases have been noted. In these cases, party control commissions, after examining more than 4,800 appeals during the period of the past 3 years, restored party membership to nearly 1,800 persons. This leads to the conclusion that it is indispensable that cases of membership cancellations be examined especially thoroughly, and particularly that the practice of making such decisions in absentia be eliminated.

Party control commissions treat the struggle against uneconomical management, broadly conceived, as a serious political task. This direction of activity is assuming an ever broader scope. During the past 3 years, party control commissions expelled more than 1,300 persons from party ranks for glaring neglect of professional duties and uneconomical management and they penalized an even greater number. Moreover, cautionary discussions were conducted with about 1,730 persons, primarily from among the leadership cadre at various levels.

We are aware of the many difficulties encountered by the leadership cadre, but they cannot justify the cases of laxity and incompetence revealed by inspectors. The party does not and will not approve of such phenomena.

The party's duty of counteracting wrongdoing wherever it occurs must begin primarily in its own ranks. Private interests, so-called arrangements, arrogance towards working people, the abuse of alcohol and similar matters have cost our party a great deal. We cannot be comforted by the fact that such phenomena occur with less frequency than in the past and that their specific gravity is lessened. We have data that shows that the number of transgressions of a moral nature has grown. Thus, we are not exaggerating these phenomena artificially. They really do exist. The point is that all elements of our party should treat every manifestation of such attitudes with full severity and adherence to principles. There is no place in the party for people of questionable morality.

If we look back and compare the present day with the recent past, we perceive considerable progress in our party achievements. If, however, we take into consideration our current and future needs, we become all the more aware of the enormity of economic, political and social problems that remain to be solved. Thus far, however, no one has thought of anything cleverer or more effective for resolving problems than the intelligent, harmonious, honest and disciplined work of every comrade in the position entrusted to him.

[Statement by Wladyslaw Honkisz, member of the PZPR CKR [Central Review Commission] Presidium, director of the PZPR KC Cadre Policy Department]

We are emphasizing the need for adhering to principles and for the continual improvement of the skill and practice of making use of the instruments of party cadre policy. Concrete tasks and specific duties emanate from this for party cadres that perform leadership functions.

In the first place, these cadres always should be aware of their joint responsibility not only for their own direct sphere of activity, but likewise for the implementation of the party line, for the welfare of Poland. They must ceaselessly confirm and upgrade their qualifications and their ability to impact positively upon workforces; they must ensure the efficiency of production, law, order and discipline and a good, healthy atmosphere among employee groups.

In the second place, they should give practical expression to their own identification with the party and its line and program, actively standing in the front line of the defenders and spokesmen for the cause of socialism.

In the third place, they should be models worthy of imitation always and everywhere; they should participate actively in the work of party echelons and organizations so that the position they hold contributes towards their courageous articulation of their thoughts, boldness of action and awakening of professional ambitions.

The need exists for a thorough assessment of the qualifications and commitment of the leadership cadre in implementing the economic reform. The results of research and, particularly, the effects of the implementation of the reform



confirm that the reform has not yet become a matter that touches the sense of responsibility of every director and all workers. Unfortunately, not all have joined actively in the process of modernizing the economy, streamlining work organization, accelerating the rate of production and improving production quality.

Many party members--foremen and team leaders, managers and directors--do not share responsibility for cooperating with union organizations, for the plant's political atmosphere. I speak of this, because frequently the lack of party and directorial ability to predict phenomena and problems that arise and their superficial assessment are at the bottom of conflicts that arise in plants.

Today both professional expertise and the skill to lead people, as well as having an educative influence over them and developing the proper atmosphere and the right interpersonal relations are of vital, equal importance. That is why high-level general qualifications and the awareness of society's responsibility for the effective work of subordinate employee groups are required of management cadres.

We consider one of the most important tasks of party echelons and organizations to be counteracting more decisively the ideological-moral abnormalities that exist among some academics and rebuilding the party's authority in schools and academic institutions. It is disturbing, for example, that the social base of future academic cadres is, more and more, families of the intelligentsia that are particularly well set, while recruitment of new cadres from worker and peasant communities is on the decline. The party's more positive and effective intervention into the process of molding the class sociopolitical face of the future academic cadre is becoming indispensable.

Teachers perform an extremely important role in the civic education of youth. As is known, the educational situation is very difficult. Forecasts from the Ministry of Education and Upbringing show that about 40,000 to 50,000 teachers may leave the schools, abandoning the practice of their profession. Party echelons and organizations and ministries must improve the system of developing and preparing academic cadres and they must gain control of the elements of the simple, automatic going into retirement of teachers.

Positive changes in the relationship of the citizen to the office worker have been noted, although there continues to be valid criticism of many employees of the state administration. Getting their signals from society, party and state leaders and the mass media condemn bureaucratic behavior that most often manifests itself in the form of a lack of respect for the work of others. Party organizations and office managers should be more and more consistent in their opposition to such attitudes. At the same time, they should defend the good name of the majority of employees in state services that, by virtue of their exemplary work and impeccable behavior, are worthy of respect.

Now, as in the past, the cadre policy is being attacked in speeches and in the libelous statements of our political adversaries. This especially refers to party cadres and the cadres of the People's Polish Army, as well as those of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The enemy continually stirs up the moods

of people that are unfriendly to us that call every personnel change [another turn of] the "official merry-go-round," the setting up of one's friends and the like. The attempt is being made to instill the belief that honest work leads nowhere and that it is extremely rare for someone to be promoted due to an open mind, honesty, exceptional effort and initiative.

The consistent implementation of the assumptions of PZPR cadre policy should be one of the most important party tasks. The assessment that has been made of this process enjoins legal inspection by party echelons and organizations, the general dissemination of positive experiences and the disclosure and elimination of all phenomena that violate the adopted principles and procedures of cadre behavior.

[Statement by Albert Kosowski, KC member, press operator at the Offset Plant of the PRASA-KSIAZKA-RUCH RSW [Worker's Cooperative Publishing House] in Warsaw]

It has been established more than once or twice here that everyone may express his own viewpoint in the discussion. It is here, amid the fervor of the more or less raucous exchange of views, that a common position is born, whose expression is in the resolutions of subsequent plenary meetings.

If these resolutions are voted down, it is always, or at least in the vast majority of cases, by unanimous vote. This shows that there are no divisions among us. This is the basis of the intraparty democracy, but it is illogical to interpret the different statements made during discussion as symptomatic of such divisiveness.

Referring to some of those that spoke during the plenum, A. Kosowski remarked on the reports submitted by the KC Letters and Correspondence Bureau. Are the petitioners people that "got burned" in their contacts with the administration and see the party as their last hope? It is obviously the case. Had their matters and problems been settled properly by the appropriate administrative agencies, they would not seek help in party committees. Thus, we have a situation where the party must rectify administrative blunders and do the work for whose lack of implementation someone else is being paid. I am not generalizing here. Many matters are resolved, to the extent that it is possible, by provincial, municipal and gmina committees and by the Central Committee. But many also remain unresolved. Then how are we to achieve this great effectiveness in such matters? Many comrades that were placed in their managerial positions in the administration by none other than the party have forgotten or ceased long ago to remember that they are first members of the PZPR and only then directors or managers. They make light of the instructions and decisions of the PZPR.

[Statement by Gizela Pawlowska, KC member, medical doctor, director and assistant of surgery of the Health Care Team in Raciborz, Katowice Province]

In the discussion, many comrades have made reference to the Ninth Party Congress, its atmosphere and the resolutions passed at it. We remember how many attempts there were then by the enemy to prevent the congress from taking place; many efforts were made to break up the congress and split up the party. It is no wonder that, in such an atmosphere, many of use have lost our sense of what is right and what is wrong.

Slogans were often bandied about in the name of the good of the nation. Perhaps that was the need of the moment, but today, after the quiet analysis of these issues, we must reconsider seriously more than one motto of the time, especially since little time remains until the 10th Congress.

We are confronted by a lofty task: elections to the Sejm. Women will be needed to work in the elections campaign, but we also would like to see them as deputies -- and not those that accidentally happen to come our way, but those that are chosen carefully, those that each of us would like to see in the Sejm as our representatives.

[Statement by Michal Tarczynski, KC member, private farmer from the village of Zlobizna, Brzeg gmina, Opole Province]

The question of the proper choice of cadres in the state and economic administration is linked inseparably with the process of developing party cadre policy. It is good that, in the implementation of the resolutions of the 13th PZPR KC Plenum, cadre reviews have been conducted throughout the country and assessments have been made of the managerial cadre. I believe that this method should be used more extensively and improved continually. Honesty in reviews and assessments likewise means the need to withhold a recommendation for all those who are incompetent, dishonest and wasteful. I believe that we are still too tolerant in this regard.

It is time that we were bolder in reaching out to youth that are educated and ambitious, but also devoted to the causes of the socialist state.

I would also like to discuss the problem of wasting the qualifications of people educated for public money. It is inadmissible for people with a higher education to be prevented from working in their special fields. Therefore, the directions of training should be tied in closely with the needs of the national economy. Study programs must be accessible to those that are capable, and, while it is not easy, an individual who is properly trained ought to be properly utilized in the national economy and suitably remunerated.

[Statement by Franciszek Wirski, PZPR KW first secretary in Skierniewice]

The continuation of the process of socialist renewal confronts the party with ever more responsible tasks. In order to execute them we must improve the system of operation and include broader and broader circles of working people in this system. The basic conclusion we drew from the events of 1980-1981 is the need to be among the people.

The Provincial Party Organization in Skierniewice has devoted much attention to seeking new forms of direct contact with the working class, with all working people. The forms developed after 1980 have passed the examination; we are improving them continually. Among the most important of these we number the holding of a field plenary meeting of the KW at least once a year in the particular plants, participated in by a broad group of party and nonparty workers from the given plant. The so-called economic talks are a vital form of direct contact between political-administrative authorities and the society of cities and gminas. This KW initiative is implemented under the auspices of the Provincial commission for PZPR, ZSL and SD Cooperation.

Checks of the implementation of resolutions play an important role in increasing the effectiveness of party work. We are implementing this through field KW meetings in first-level echelons, preceded by a comprehensive check of the work of party echelons and a check of the work of the local administration made by the provincial office. This concretizes the orders for further party work and administrative activity.

With regard to increasing the effectiveness of the work of particular party elements, the provincial echelon attributes special importance to program development and the working out of suitable forms and methods of party work in the various communities.

[Statement by Stefan Paterek, KC member, overseer, PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] first secretary at the VICTORIA Hard Coal Mine in Walbrzych]

Today, almost 2 years since the passing of the 13th KC Plenum Resolution, I would like to share my remarks on its practical implementation. With full responsibility I can say that we developed documents at that time which, when strictly abided by in practice by primary party organizations and local echelons, ensure the proper selection of cadres in the most important leadership positions.

On the other hand, work with the mid-level supervisory cadre requires greater regulation. I have in mind here primarily managers, foremen and subforemen. They work directly with people in the shops and production results depend primarily on them. They also have a significant impact upon the moods and attitudes of the workers. We are all aware that the majority of these are

loyal people, devotedly performing their duties. However, there are also those for whom the causes of the country and the enterprise are remote. Some of these are merely unaware--these must be taught--while others exhibit their apolitical attitudes premeditatedly. Sometimes they are outright inimical to the party's policy and implemented reforms, and sometimes they even oppose the principles of our system. We cannot work and we do not wish to work with such individuals.

I note that often there is still evidence of the method of assessing the management cadre exclusively through the prism of professional successes and achievements. On the other hand, less importance is attached to the political-moral face of management cadres. We can count on our fingers the dismissals of people from management positions for reasons of their improper sociopolitical attitude. We should speak openly, the way it is done in the party, telling the person being evaluated that he is professionally capable but that he cannot lead groups of people because his attitude does not comply with the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

[Statement by Sabina Dobasz, KC member, director of the Elementary School in Pniewnik, Korytnicz Gmina, Siedlce Province]

We may be filled with optimism about the increase in party ranks. This is proof of the party's recovery of its social credibility. However, while attending to the numerical growth of party ranks, we cannot forget qualitative criteria. The preservation of the highest ideological-moral requirements--activism and commitment, the requirement of model civic attitudes--with regard to candidates is basic to the real rebuilding of the party's strength. There can be no place in our ranks for people that are led to join not out of conviction but due to the existing state of affairs.

Specific matters resolved by party organizations, in accordance with society's expectations, are the most convincing arguments in the party's favor, building its authority and restoring confidence in it. In a rural community, the building of a road, a store or a community center through the initiative of the local party organization yields more propaganda benefits than lectures and training sessions.

Among a part of the aktiv, one observes an incomprehensible and disturbing phenomenon. Comrades that are active at meetings and that even perform tasks ordered by committees locally demonstrate little interest in the work of their own plant party organizations. This refers primarily to small units of the following type: the gmina cooperative, the farm circles cooperative, the cooperative bank and the school. Responsibility for the work of the parent organization should be taken into consideration in assessments of the party management cadre on an equal basis with the results of professional work.

More and more primary party organizations are implementing ideological training in a satisfactory manner. However, if our work in molding the ideological-upbringing attitudes of society is to have significant results,

it cannot be restricted to meetings alone. The offensive in counteracting the propaganda of the political adversary must be taken by party members in every situation, at the meetings of social organizations and in the residential community. Unfortunately, the offensive is not taken, even by some of the aktiv.

[Statement by Jerzy Majka, director of the PZPR KC Information Department]

Political information is one of the important tools of party ideological and political work. The Ninth PZPR Congress pointed out the need to improve it. It is part of the system of party ideological work that we have rebuilt with such a great effort, having learned from the events of 1980. Ideological-theoretical and practical conferences, the system of party training, the improvement of propaganda work in the mass media--all this serves the molding of patriotic and socialist views and ideological-moral attitudes and the building of incentives to work and to struggle for social justice.

The road to establishing the socialist political awareness of the working masses after the neglect of the 1970's and the destruction of 1980-1981 is a long one. However, I cannot agree with the idea that there is a lack of univocality on ideological questions. The Ninth Congress explicitly took the Marxist-Leninist position in the general assessment of the sources of the worker protest and the processes and forces that attempted to undermine socialism in Poland. It is a matter for all party echelons and organizations, a task for the mass media, to ensure that these assessments ever more clearly dominate in the political consciousness of party members and meet with the approval of the working masses.

In preparing forecasts of the development of the social situation, the KC Information Department tracks and analyzes the results of public opinion research. This research shows that, since 1982, trust in the party has risen gradually. The vast majority of society finds that familiarity with the achievements of 40 years of the PRL and the significance of the alliance with the Soviet Union have been reconstructed in the social consciousness. The vast majority of society understands the danger to Poland that emanates from the policy of the United States and revisionist circles in the FRG.

[Statement by Wladyslaw Fidzinski, KC member, medical doctor, senior assistant at the Praga Hospital-Health Care Team -- Warsaw Praga Polvoc]

An assessment of the party status quo also must make reference to the dramatic and stormy days of 1980, to the atmosphere of outcry and slogans of the sort "So that Poland would be Poland" and "The party from the plants." Time has demonstrated that our side was in the right.

The party's offensive stance must always be associated with the attitude of struggle. We cannot forget this, for the ideological struggle took place,

is taking place and will take place in the future. We should not be reassured by claims that the opposition has declined in numbers.

As the 10th Congress approaches, we should give thought to the issue of the party's cadre reserve. The party must find it within its means to train and prepare people for work and activity.

The final matter concerns proposals for the appointment of academic-advisory councils within the KC and PZPR provincial committees. I have my doubts, since it always has been possible to poll the opinions of the representatives of academic institutions.

Once again we should keep in mind the principle that the party is strong in the strength and discipline of its members and in the wisdom of its echelons.

[Statement by Jozef Smolanz, KC member, private farmer from Dys Village, Niemce gmina, Lublin Province]

In his text, the speaker polemicized with some opinions concerning rural party work expressed earlier. He stated that the development of the party and the positive self-image of its members depend considerably on the work of the leadership cadre, both party and administrative. This applies particularly to village administrators, enterprise managers and cooperative presidents. Not only should they see that something is amiss, but they should perceive why this is so.

It is extremely difficult to be a party member in rural areas. The proposal that party members that live in rural areas but work in enterprises in town support the work of rural echelons will not work. It also happens that they do not admit to being party members within their own communities. Demonstrating party-mindedness during work hours, at the plant, is one thing, but displaying it in the village, on Sunday, is another. That is why those members of rural party organizations that proudly carry their PZPR identification cards at their place of residence are worthy of respect and recognition, especially since much good is done rurally for their cause in this way.

Our primary goal is to feed the nation and to enable Poland to attain food self-sufficiency, said the speaker with reference to an earlier speech. Regardless of the number of hectares one has, if he works honestly, produces and sells his yield at a socialized procurement point, he is a patriot and an honest man.

[Statement by Jerzy Wilk, PZPR first secretary in Legnice]

Several factors determine the strength of the party. In the first place, there is the party program. The second determining factor is the party's ability to mobilize the masses around the implementation of this

program. The third is the party's ability to disseminate knowledge about the level of implementation of the program and the needs of society, i.e., the development of a system of information and control.

The leadership cadre is of tremendous importance for the implementation of these tasks. What is most important is the degree to which this cadre is linked directly to the party's program and the party line. We must develop those forms of work that will strengthen these ties. Therefore, we must ensure the participation of the cadre in formulating and passing decisions that it later will want to implement. We also must poll the opinions and the advice of the leadership cadre and give them the responsibility of executing party tasks, a very important function.

In our province, we assign specific party tasks to plant managers. For example, we assign them the duty of strengthening trade unions and rebuilding and strengthening the party.

We have obliged the management cadre at all levels to meet once a month with workforces and the provincial aktiv for the purpose of exchanging information. Objective analysis is important in work with the cadre. The management cadre should not fear the KW first secretary or his deputy; if the cadre works well, it must be certain that we will defend it. At the same time, however, I would like to emphasize that the problem of objective assessment and its criteria is one of the thorniest ones. There is also the problem of preparing cadres to fill positions, as well as their nomination for these positions. I believe that this is considerably more complex than their dismissal.

[Statement by Tadeusz Pisarski, KC member, professor of the Medical Academy in Poznan, deputy director of the Medical Academy Institute of Oncology and Obstetrics]

The formation of a cadre policy is a complex process that is still being confronted with many psychological and substantive barriers. The PZPR KC's explicit formulation of the principles and directions of its policy has set up the foundations of a uniform, comprehensive system for selecting, upgrading and relocating the leadership cadre in a manner enabling the performance of the party's leadership role. I am deeply convinced that the party has the full authority and the requisite tenure to perform this role.

In those institutions where ill-disposed individuals have assumed the authority, the possibilities that the party organization will influence cadre policy were and are slight, and often nil. The weakness of some school organizations and the improper attitudes of PZPR members are still in evidence. Intensified political work in the academic community and other supplementary activities have been embarked upon to ensure the greater influence of the party in the implementation of cadre policy and in the appointment of new academic authorities, as well as to counteract cadre decisions that do not comply with party assumptions. We believe that soon the situation in this regard will change significantly.

The cadre reviews made in the state administration continue to be superficial and formal; evaluations tend to be overstated. In treating these reviews as an important basis for training work with the subordinate employee cadre, we must improve their methodology continually and be concerned over ensuring objectivity and a substantive plane of assessment.



POLAND

# PZPR CONTROL COMMISSION INTENSIFIES ITS EFFORTS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Jul 85 pp 1-2

[PAP release: "Further Strengthening of PZPR Unity"]

[Text] The presidium of the CKKP [Central Commission of Party Control] met on 25 July. Information on the work of provincial party control commissions in the first half of 1985 was reviewed. It was found that in the course of their work the commissions of party control devoted special attention to further reinforcing ideological, political and organizational unity of the party as well as adherence by party members to statutory principles.

Party, preventive and upbringing ruling was improved. Considerable weight was attached to combatting manifestations of mismanagement and waste. In this sphere, the provincial commissions of party control carried out more than 150 various inspections of party organizations. Further progress was apparent in the cooperation between the commissions of party control and organs of professional and social control.

In the first half of this year, the commissions of party control at all levels considered a total of 3,582 cases of party members, i.e. 426 cases more than in a similar period of last year. On the basis of resolutions by the commissions of party control, 392 persons were expelled from the party, 48.6 percent for violating commonly accepted moral standards, more than 26 percent for violating statutory principles and failure to comply with party discipline; 12.5 percent were expelled for mismanagement and failure to comply with labor discipline, and 8.6 percent of the expulsions were for reasons of alcohol abuse and improper treatment of family members.

Other statutory party penalties were imposed on 1,005 persons.

As a result of party investigations, 155 party members were cleared of various slanderous accusations by the party control commissions at the provincial and basic level.

The remainder of cases involved appeals of dismissals from the party as well as cancellation of party penalties previously imposed on party members.

Preventive and upbringing activities were enriched further. Admonition talks with party members are the foremost of the varied forms in use; all commissions of party control conducted such talks with 3,706 persons.

In the course of its proceedings, the CKKP also evaluated the mode of responding to various complaints. Over the past half-year, 4,081 complaints were received by party control commissions at all levels, of which 994 were reviewed by the CKKP.

In cases when the accusations were confirmed, commissions of party control or other competent administrative or control organs at the request of the party control commission took appropriate measures.

The CKKP presidium found it necessary to further intensify the work of the party control commissions at all levels and obligated them to improve the ruling, control, preventive and upbringing activities.

The commission also recommended that the commissions of party control respond resolutely to the manifestations of improper attitudes by party members which violate party discipline and the ideological, political and organizational unity of the party as well as all manifestations of waste, mismanagement and lack of responsibility for the honest execution of professional duties in the context of ensuring the correct implementation of the principles of economic reforms. Attention was drawn to the feasibility of a more resolute reaction to the manifestations of bureaucracy and carelessness in responding to correct complaints and letters from citizens received by state and economic administration organs. It was also considered necessary for the commissions of party control to deal harshly with manifestations of suppression of social and party criticism.

The CKKP presidium also evaluated the operation of provincial party control commissions in Bydgoszcz, Gorzów Wielkopolski and Ostrołęka, stressing the profound dedication of these commissions to carrying out the tasks set forth by the provincial report conferences and the CKKP.

The evaluation also pointed out the need to eliminate the existing irregularities and shortcomings in future work by these commissions.

The proceedings were chaired by the CKKP deputy chairman Tadeusz Nowicki.

9761

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POLAND

PZPR ORGAN ON SOVIET DRIVE FOR EFFICIENCY, DISCIPLINE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Kraszewski, "The Soviet Union: Democracy--Centralism--Discipline"]

[Text] [From our Moscow correspondent] The measures recently undertaken in the Soviet Union to enhance discipline, law and order, are neither a one-time drive nor an ad hoc campaign. During the last plenary sessions of the Central Committee it was pointed out again and again that this is a long-term project. The problems are debated in close linkage with the development of democracy and stimulation of social initiatives.

In the past, too, the CPSU used to underline its concept, concerning interdependence between democracy, rights and duties. One might well reflect, however, why it has been brought to the foreground just now. What has determined the stepping up of public debate of the issue?

It seems to me that all of this should be regarded as a part of the programmatic premises of the Soviet party in the domain of economy, politics, ideology, and--morality.

Obviously, as in all similar cases, the ad hoc reasons have also played a certain role. It is well known, for instance, that the extremely harsh winter has rendered fulfillment of this year's plans somewhat more difficult, and coping with the arrears has called for additional concentration of means and for particularly disciplined work.

The Levers of Progress

But the roots lie deeper. They are linked to the concept of accelerated socioeconomic development of the USSR. The program of acceleration means improved economic and social conditions, improved production relations, as well as relations between collectives and individuals. To put it another way: It concerns fuller, more disciplined use of all the economic, social, and intellectual assets. It concerns sharper criteria of assessment, stepped up demands, quicker solutions both to problems inherited from the past which exist, so to say, objectively, and those raised by the subjective causes.

A radical turning point is thus expected to put the economy on an intensive development course. As levers for this process, scientific and technological development, as well as modernization of the productive apparatus and of the technological processes, are envisaged. This concept has been developed and rationalized by Mikhail Gorbachev.

### Facing the Experience

In the light of these pronouncements and of the resolutions passed by this year's plenary sessions of the Central Committee, one can better understand the theses put forward by the CPSU concerning the development of democracy and the strengthening of discipline. The KOMMUNIST editorial pointed out: "Those who fail to understand that democracy and discipline are mutually linked, or who try to set them one against the other, either have no idea what they are talking about, or else they use such expressions to cover up their own lack of discipline, sloth, and individualistic attitudes."

Some related issues, however, need separate treatment.

They include, no doubt, democratic centralism. Under the current circumstances, the CPSU interprets it in the following manner:

First of all, the process of democratizing economic management is an objective rule, derived from the essence of the system; at present, it further conditions the sustained growth of productive forces, improved production relations, and increased economic efficiency.

Second, no democratization is possible without centralism, which safeguards the implementation of the strategic scientific, technological, economic, social, and fiscal policies jointly for the country as whole. Democratic centralism safeguards the unity of the economy as a system, its internal organization, mutual interaction between production, distribution, exchange, and consumption.

To sum up: Centralism and democracy fulfill different functions, supplementing each other; they are the social regulators of different phenomena. Centralism is the organizational instrument for achieving democracy. Continuing to develop and improve the principle of centralism in solving its strategic goals, the Soviet Union simultaneously broadens the powers of enterprises and increases their autonomy. Based on these factors, the responsibility of workforces and their interest in the final results of their work, go up.

### The Party and the Class

Such reasoning leads to the following conclusion: Democracy cannot exist without centralism, that is to say, without subordination of individual interests to common ones. While broadening economic self-management and the enterprises' powers, and introducing the involvement of workforces in co-determining matters concerning production, one has, at the same time, to improve--that is to say: increase the role of centralism. Both processes are one.

Obviously, one has in mind wise centralism, which fulfills its integrative functions but does not halt initiative. Difficult? Yes, but the more the reason to search for optimal solutions. All extremism slows development down. In this connection one should pay attention to the recently postulated CPSU demands for abolishment of detailed "sponsorship" over enterprises by central and branch management organs, and for eliminating the surviving bureaucratic excesses.

In such a context the thesis has been formulated: The broader the democracy, the better organized the masses should be. Ergo: the role of the party expands. Explicating the thesis: democracy, deprived of its class organization, ceases to be a real democracy. It paves the way to anarchy, lack of discipline, irresponsibility; it might turn into a dangerous instrument of demagoguery.

#### The Machinery and the Plan

In the debate held throughout the Soviet Union, prior to the 27th CPSU Congress, the following opinion has been put forward: The current stage of restructuring the economic machinery requires, along with the growth of democracy, improved rules for central planning. In practice this means, inter alia, safeguarding the full concordance of long-term, 5-year, and annual plans; the universal introduction of composite programs; and an improved system of indicators and rules of price-shaping, all of which remain under the full control of the state. It also means a growing role of planning in stepping up technological development.

One should keep in mind that those processes -- developing democracy and improving the principle of centralism -- operate under conditions of a huge productive system, composed of 300 major branches and industries which include 2.2 million enterprises and productive associations.

Under these circumstances the strengthening of conscious work and of a planning discipline, of the discipline of technology and performance, becomes a necessary premise for democratization of management. Safeguarding priority for all-national and all-economy interests has therefore been, and remains, the most important goal of socialist management.

As Mikhail Gorbachev put it, "The intensification of socialist democracy is inseparably linked with the growth of social consciousness. The effectiveness of our educational work manifests itself in the participation of workers, kolkhoz farmers, and intelligentsia in solving major and minor problems, in the way they overcome shortcomings..."

And that indeed is the underpinning principle which unites problems of democracy, centralism, and discipline.

12485

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POLAND

POLL REVEALS LITTLE TRUST IN GOVERNMENT, ECONOMIC REFORM

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 27 Jul 85 pp 6-7

[Article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski: "Criticism and Credibility"; passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in original text]

[Text] Reports from the Public Opinion Survey Center (CBOS) indicate that at least one-half of the public is critically disposed toward the status of the economy, the manner of the exercise of power and politics in general.

Some criticize out of impatience, in the expectation of more rapid changes, while others do so to provide intellectual support and help, and others still to protest, to chastise the supporters of a system toward which they have an oppositionist attitude. To be sure, that last group is the smallest, barely a couple of percent, but it exists.

Those who keep track of the government's performance have observed that /the top wants to listen to what the bottom says/. The top is open to proposals and consultation, and it responds to press criticism and letters from the public, and it also analyzes opinions gathered by specialized institutions and opinion-and-consultation teams. Recently, for example, the Council of Ministers evaluated the performance of press spokesmen, the responses of offices and institutions to press criticism and the handling of complaints and proposals from the public by the state and economic administration.

What is the Most Frequent Target of Criticism?

(Meaning criticism addressed from the bottom to the government "top.") A tremendous sensitivity, or even hypersensitivity, to social justice, democracy, accuracy of information, and similar values, is the most noticeable. People react emotionally as well to the arrogance of officials and personal deals -- those distinctive horizontal structures of the local authorities -- and they are resolutely opposed to undeserved privileges, utilization of official posts for personal gain, manifestations of abuse, speculation and sharing of scarce goods with cronies. They are outraged by mismanagement, disorganization and waste in plants. These findings indicate that /people know and generally agree upon what they are against./ This should

cause no worry to the government. Why worry when the targets of condemnation and criticism are antisocialist, and in the sense, in the degree to which our society has already become socialist at that? The critics do not mention a return to the past, which with all its compromising aspects is now dead, and the various manifestations of social pathology will not be accepted. The government can rely on complete approval and tremendous support for actions in that direction. Judging from the polls taken by the CBOS, some impatience and skepticism even are displayed as to whether the government will cope with such a difficult situation.

Here is one of the questions asked in a nationwide survey:

"The authorities declare that they are taking measures to prevent a return of the crises which we experienced in the past. In your opinion, is this really happening?"

Nearly one-half of the respondents (48-49 percent) answered "No," while the remainder commented: "Because what is being done is scratching the surface and provides no certainty that the crisis will reappear" (26 percent) or "There exist many instances of action in the old-style manner" (13 percent), or even "Nothing like that is happening" (9 percent).

This spectrum of responses was confirmed by polls taken last December as well as in April of this year and it still persists. The percentage of those evaluating positively the efforts of the authorities has declined (to 23 percent in April 1985 from 26 percent in December 1984). In sum, only one-fourth of the respondents selected positive answers of the kind "Yes, there exist numerous proofs of this" or "Yes, but this is not being done sufficiently rapidly and persistently." Those who answered "In principle yes, but there are many deficiencies in these measures" have increased in numbers (to 28.6 from 24.4 percent). From 27 to 32 percent of the respondents declared that "Old pre-August (pre-Solidarity) political methods are often employed," and one-third answered that "Sometimes the old methods are employed." Every fourth respondent (23-26 percent) is of the opinion that "Something has changed and that can be considered in accord with the spirit of renewal and the reform."

Another question, "Does the government's policy so far afford chances for surmounting the economic crisis?", has been answered "Rather not" or "No" by 64 percent of the respondents. We thus encounter explicit pessimism against the economic background, which is disturbingly rising, along with an equally explicit rise in optimism against the political background. /People are not concerned about the political situation in the country, but they are concerned about the economy./ In connection with the [price] increases, the feeling of threat is widespread and understandable.

The Principal Cause of Discontent is Prices

(73 of the respondents), along with poor supplies of consumer goods (53 percent), particularly of durable consumer goods (61 percent), and the level of wages and earnings (41 percent), while other causes, including political ones, are named much less often (11-28 percent of the respondents).

Let it be an alarming signal that the poor and very poor state of the organization of labor in work establishments was mentioned by more than one-half of the respondents (56 percent). In polls taken toward year end (October and December) concerning the chances for improvement in various fields, the greatest pessimism was expressed concerning, among other things, the organization of labor in plants: "Nothing will change; things will be the same," was said by 43 percent of the respondents in December 1984.

It is not surprising that the most critical comments on these matters come from workers, particularly the key-industry ones. We even discern a definite pattern: the larger the plant and the city and the higher the skill category of the worker, the sharper his criticism. Age also counts: the young, particularly those in their 30's, are uncompromisingly opposed toward any institutional anomalies. Even when they associate with socialism the targets of their criticism. Unfortunately, /they know better what they are against than what they are for./ This fact can no longer be cause for rejoicing: /It is easier to dispose young people against something than for it./

Will the authorities draw from this fact the proper conclusions for their political actions? Probably not completely. Criticism has become a specialty of the political opponents and they have a monopoly over it. Many of our politicians do not know how to counter this criticism. After all, criticism makes the authorities credible, and besides "silence sometimes implies the severest criticism." If there is no criticism, there will be apathy, marasmus and stagnation.

I am in favor of stimulating, publicizing and organizing critical thinking and comments. I am in favor of seizing the initiative; this should be done first and most easily in propaganda, in information policies, in the mass media. Unfortunately, /the propaganda we practice cannot convince many people as to what they should support./ Our propaganda often convinces those who already are convinced--with our apparat being the most willing--and struggles against opponents. We have an excess of champions of frontline-style propaganda, the kind that is more militant than convincing or promoting a consensus. The martial law era is behind us and nowadays a different approach is needed.

The one-half of the public which I mentioned is in need of a many-sided rather than one-sided black-and-white approach. It wants to be convinced and have the luxury of a choice. /Propaganda must provide a vent for this criticism and let people have their say,/ it should serve to compromise views that are extreme, harmful and stupid. Attempts of this kind have already been made on television.

In this place it is worth noting the comments of Rudolf Paciok, an electronics expert from the Warsaw PREDOM Plant, wrote as follows in the latest issue of TWORCZOSC ROBOTNIKOW (No 14, 1985):

"Material shortages and poor management make critics of us, and this is very often interpreted as criticism for its own sake, thus discouraging persistence in actions that are worthwhile and socially justified. It is easy to discourage, but it is so much more difficult to encourage.... A worker's rationale for action stems from his character and job. The manager's rationale



in addition stems from the nature of his position. A manager has the right to forbid talking.... We want to make our rationales public wherever possible, through the mediation of the National Cultural Council, television, radio and press. Difficulties neither surprise nor astound us. Something would be wrong if there were no more difficulties. Struggle is the chief part of the workers' tradition. The image of the fighting worker is nothing new -- an image of a fighting, creatively mutinous worker who is dissatisfied with what is being achieved at present but aware that in the future he can accomplish more with less effort."

#### All Party Members Should Be the Most Critical

To them, criticism is not only a right but a duty. After all, the party wants to be in the vanguard of social discontent. What does it mean that it is precisely the highly skilled key-industry workers who are the most critical? Does this mean that socialism is weakening precisely wherever it should be at its strongest? Or does this mean that the workers are proving that they are becoming a "class for itself"? By this I want to say that attitude toward criticism is an important ideological question and demonstrates which side is taken by the authorities in their economic decisions and political actions, especially in propaganda.

By virtue of my job, I sometimes happen to hear what is said by "people with positions," that is, precisely, by those identified with the authorities. Unfortunately, I have noticed that they include some who take personally the institution of complaints and letters as well as press criticism, that is, who practically get insulted, feel personally affected, and would prefer neither to listen to nor read about criticism, because they "know what they know" and "know better." They display nervousness or an amiable indulgence when social criticism is mentioned. To these dignitaries it is, e.g., not so much the matters raised in letters from the public, or the number itself of these letters, that is the problem as that their subordinate officials "do nothing except explain, verify, etc." Knowing Polish bureaucracy, it can be stated confidently that the number of those who "do nothing" is much higher.

They will just as exaggeratedly speak about "nuts." What does it matter, in the end, if the several hundred thousand letters from the public to the central authorities include several from maniacs who send accusatory missives to various institutions? Instead of discussing a matter on its own merit, or discussing problems raised in letters from normal citizens, that is, from the overwhelming majority of letter-writers, these officials relish telling tales about some or other eccentric who has already sent more than 300 letters arguing in favor of some lunatic notion.

And what about the anonymous letters? It is easy to say that they should be thrown into the wastebasket. It is easy to take refuge in ethics, in moral principles, in loathing of denunciations, etc. But what if 80 percent of these denunciations are proved true when verified, what if people usually fear to sign their letters because life has taught them to be cautious? If a letter is thrown into the wastebasket, if the accusations it contains point to a major

crime, even if only partially true, would not it be better to verify their accuracy?

Strangely enough, I found that these dignitaries react in a similar manner to the findings of public opinion surveys -- with an explicit reserve or indulgently ("Yes, we know") and nonchalance ("Nothing new, it's a waste of time"), or with impatience ("Aren't there too many of these critics?") or even worse, they consider how to question these findings, display their knowledge of sociological studies and pontificate about the manner in which questions are to be worded or about possible distortions and other suchlike shoptalk.

The more distant from the humanities a dignitary's post, and the more technical his educational background and branch in which he is employed, the more self-assured his response becomes and the greater are the methodological reservations and doubts he expresses. Nearly everyone is an expert about, e.g., public opinion surveys. Any communications expert feels competent to teach sociologists how to word the questions in their polls, although he is unable to explain why it is so difficult to make a telephone call to, e.g., Otwock.

I have more than once ascertained that

Certain Dignitaries Not Only "Know Better"

but also and urgently wish to undermine the credibility of public opinion surveys, as if it were particularly important to them to prove that they are inaccurate. Two years ago, when we at the CBOS drafted our first research plan, I contacted various central institutions with the request that they notify us about their particular needs and what they expect from this new government agency. One-half did not dignify us with a reply at all. And the majority of those who sent in replies, worded them in such a manner that it would be disgraceful to mention them.

What is to be said about a comment by an important personage who, concerning a CBOS report, stated "with good wishes" that he is in agreement with the findings? Please note, "in agreement." This may be a trifle, but it also is an entire mindset.

The credibility of CBOS research is questioned in a completely different manner by the "ordinary" public at all sorts of meetings to which I am invited. It happens that much time must be "wasted" on explaining entirely technical questions such as the execution of the polls, their accuracy, their results, their usefulness, etc. Not so long ago, when a TV program, "People and Events," was about to be produced, even before I began to talk about the findings of polls -- what after all is most curious--the workers present at the studio questioned me chiefly about purely technical, procedural matters relating to credibility, but this time a differently construed credibility. They wanted to know whether we are not glossing over anything that our respondents say, whether we are not "tailoring" opinions to suit the wishes of the authorities. It is a good thing that the producers of that TV program deleted those fragments, because even if I were to fall on my knees and take an oath, it seems that I still would not be quite believed when I declared

that we are doing everything we can in behalf of a maximally faithful reproduction of the reality we investigate. I do not deny that during every stage of polltaking--beginning with the art of asking questions and continuing with the honesty of our local polltakers as well as with data encodement, and ending with computer processing--errors can happen and be not so easy to eliminate.

I admit that at first I even felt irritated when, instead of discussing some interesting findings, I had to explain questions of a purely textbook nature, some banal procedure. Now I no longer am surprised, and I believe that so long as there exist such excessively self-assured dignitaries as I have described above, it is a very good idea for people, especially workers, to be so mistrustful, suspicious and sensitive about that credibility, accuracy of information, in a word, to want to feel certain.

1386

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POLAND

## ECONOMISTS SHARPLY CRITICIZE PLAN VARIANTS

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 29, 21 Jul 85 pp 6-7

[Article by Piotr Aleksandrowicz: "Migraine"]

[Text] Not so long ago citizens used to be notified with suitable pomp that they just were assigned for implementation yet another 5-year plan. Nowadays the initial document concerning such a plan is published by the government 9 months prior to its commencement under the modest title, "Variants of the Concept of the 1986-1990 National Socioeconomic Plan," while at the same time appealing for its broadest discussion.

The significance of this change will be grasped by comparing the plan in its resolved-upon form, such as it will certainly exist at the beginning of next year, with the previously presented "Variants." The question of whether it will be confined to procedural changes in confirming decisions previously taken or become a symptom of the society's involvement in the decision-making process is all the more important considering that, as ensues from conversations I held with some 15 economists, "Variants" elicits reservations of a fundamental nature, although the authors of the opinions presented below represent diverse schools of thought on the economy and variegated views on the political situation.

"Variants" assumes the principal purpose of the 5-year plan to be the creation and consolidation of the economy's capability for a balanced and effective development. This is to mean, among other things, attaining a market equilibrium, modernization--especially of industry, accelerating the application of technological progress, expanding exports on a larger scale and reducing energy- and materials-intensiveness as the decisive condition for accomplishing the tasks.

National income is to grow at the rate of--depending on the variant--3 or 4 percent annually, while per capita consumption is to grow at a much smaller rate, in view of the necessity of halting the decapitalization of fixed capital and raising the investment level. Only the third variant, which is the most ambitious one besides, provides for restoring the 1978 level of per capita consumption in 1990.

This government document discusses in its preamble all the barriers to development: material, manpower resources, technical and technological, ecological, raw materials and [foreign] indebtedness.

### The First Impression

produced on the reader well-versed in reading literature on economic problems is that of discontent. The authors of the "Variants" quite often indulge in generalities and rarely specify the operating procedure or answer the question of how to accomplish this or that. The verbiage and lack of specifics are attributed to the preliminary nature of that document. But the effect is such that Stanislaw Albinowski, the writer of the regular column "The Economic Antiques Shop" in TRYBUNA LUDU, spreads his hands helplessly, declaring: "I can't undertake an economic evaluation of the plan."

Prof Pawel Bozyk of the Warsaw SGPiS [Main School of Planning and Statistics] comments: "The assumptions are both hedged and unrealistic. Hedged, because they are based on constraints and envisage a snail's pace of development instead of aiming at eliminating the constraints.

"This reminds me of punching a hole in the wall instead of finding the key to the locked doors. The discussion of whether it should take 4 or 5 days to punch that hole is practically pointless. And this is unrealistic because, given the assumed directions and methods of action, accomplishing any of these variants, even the least ambitious one, appears hardly likely."

Andrzej Karpinski, former vice chairman of the Planning Commission, claims: "The only genuine barrier of them all is the [foreign] indebtedness. All the others are myths, in the sense that they can be demolished fairly rapidly and effectively."

Stanislaw Albinowski adds pessimistically: "The barriers mentioned in the Preamble will not diminish but, on the contrary, will be still higher 5 years later."

The other economists with whom I spoke expressed similar views. Konrad Bajan of the Academy of Social Sciences said: "This is a concept of survival rather than of opportunity."

Reading the text of that document in its entirety also produces the impression that the situation in 1990, when the next decade will be entered upon, need not at all be more favorable and the development prospects will remain unexploited. The suspicions that yet another few years will be wasted are magnified by the public comments of the authors of "Variants," who, for example, assume that the process of reforming the economic system and management will still take as many as 5 or even more years and the restructuring of the economy, at least 15. Similarly, in the most readily perceivable respect, that of personal consumption, "Variants" offers little: stabilization of real wages and a slight improvement in the housing situation.

But these are at most impressions. The fact that, as one of my collocutors has stated, many claims are of zero information value, although objectively valid, does not facilitate a substantive analysis.

Critics of the document also point out that essentially we are dealing with hardly differing variants of the same concept. As justly declared in the Sejm by Deputy Witold Jankowski, "They present no differences in the strategy for utilizing production factors, and hence it is not known whether the latent potential of the economy couldn't be utilized better."

Docent Cezary Jozefiak, a member of the Commission for the Economic Reform, with whom I spoke at Lodz University, commented: "The plan's assumptions are structured in the traditional manner, since they are substructured on a material rather than financial basis. In this way, the stamp of a distinctive and unfounded wishful thinking is imposed on everything: output is to be increased by so much, the consumption of energy and raw and other materials is to be reduced by so much, etc., etc. But 'planned wishes' in themselves produce nothing."

Despite their numerous general reservations my collocutors do not avoid expressing their opinions on several problems of cardinal importance. These include:

#### The Question of Investments

The current share of investments in national income is generally considered too low, although, for example, Stanislaw Albinowski offers the reminder that at present only two-thirds of the capacity of machinery and equipment is utilized. This also applies markedly to modern fixed capital.

He suggests: "It would be worthwhile first to try to utilize it properly."

Generally, however, hardly anyone questions the necessity of gradually increasing the share of investment outlays in distributed national income, which would imply a slower growth rate of consumption compared with that of national income. The problem is what to utilize the proposed resources for and how.

Andrzej Karpinski dissents with the thesis that the published document expects fundamental and difficult decisions from the society regarding, among other things, the method of financing construction or freezing real wages, while at the same time it avoids choices lying in the political-economic realm. He declared: "It's not true: it was explicitly stated that the fundamental choice has been made, namely, that we will continue all investments. This is a totally mistaken choice."

A similar opinion is expressed by a majority of the economists. It ensues from several premises of which the most important still is the improper structure of investing. In industry this concerns mostly costly and big fundamental projects with a low economic effectiveness. The unfavorable structure of production is being perpetuated year after year. In 1984 the extractive industry and the initial stages of processing accounted for 74 percent of the

estimated cost of investment projects implemented, while the consumer goods industry accounted for only 10 percent.

Prof Roman Ney of the Krakow AGH [Academy of Mining and Metallurgy] defines the Polish economy to be a self-devouring one.

An employee of the Planning Commission who asked that his name be not disclosed said: "The Commission also has reservations. The provision for continuing all investments did not originate with us, and appeared only after a session of the government, in which there exists a strong group of members of the Council of Ministers with ties to industrial subsectors who support precisely this solution."

On tracking for more than a year the discussion of longrange subsector plans in the Sejm and within the government, Docent Cezary Jozefiak commented as follows: "The strongest subsectors--mining, power industry, metals industry and automotive industry--take care of securing resources for themselves even before the 5-year plan is adopted."

To be sure, according to Vice Premier Zbigniew Messner, this concerns only pre-plan assessments, but the practice of the entire 40-year period demonstrates that the domination of the heavy, capital-intensive and economically relatively ineffective smokestack industries is a permanent element of the system, becoming now and then a source of social conflicts of economic origin. For emphasis on the industries producing means of production means at the same time neglecting the sphere of consumer goods.

Docent Jozefiak concludes: "This concept of the plan, too, implies an excessive demand for investment goods."

The adoption of factual preferences for mining and the power and metals industries and the decision to continue all investments result directly in increasing the share of central investments in the whole of investment outlays. This is not plainly stated in the assumptions of the 5-year plan. Yet even the preliminary draft of the plan for the next year provides for precisely such a situation. At the same time, a majority of the economists, including the Government Plenipotentiary for the Economic Reform Prof Wladyslaw Baka, believe that enterprise investments would be more effective. Such investments have shorter completion periods and are less capital-intensive, while at the same time being more often intended to meet consumer needs. So far, however, of the bodies officially taking a position in this discussion only the Socioeconomic Council under the Sejm has ventured to criticize in toto the approach of "Variants" to investments.

The next problem is that of the

#### Decapitalization

of fixed capital. "Variants" considers preventing it to be a basic task on the scale of the entire economy. But this is not linked to the necessity of restructuring the economy. Yet, it is obvious that at many plants, and even in

entire subsectors, complete decapitalization would be expedient in view of the need to discontinue technologically obsolete and costly methods of production.

The aforementioned official of the Planning Commission commented: "If all investments are to be continued, in the absence of prioritizing modernized subsectors and plants, restructuring would be a fiction."

The document of the government and the Commission envisages that, during the initial years of the 5-year plan period,

#### Restructuring

will be carried out within subsectors. "This is hardly likely," comments Stanislaw Albinowski. One proof could be the development plans for discrete industries, as described in "Variants," which represents collections of generalized and compendious desiderata rather than carefully selected directions of development.

The special task of initiating restructuring is to be assigned to 41 projects selected at the central level, chiefly in the sphere of the manufacturing of standard components and semifinished products. Their list has not been published so far, although it can be obtained from the Planning Commission. That list contains such doubtful projects as plants for the production of carbide, lampblack and coke-chemical products as well as a pipe mill with a capacity of 400,000 tons a year. Other proposed projects pertain to the development of microelectronic components, robots and manipulators as well as cutting tools and measuring devices. Another section specifies a nuclear power plant, medical equipment, and procurements of machinery for the manufacture of linen fabrics in Kamienna Gora. When asked whether economic criteria were followed, Director Janusz Biernat of the Planning Commission answered: "No, because, given the current price chaos, this is not possible. On the other hand, allowance was -- supposedly -- made for export possibilities, modernity of designs, consumer demand, conservation of raw and other materials, and substitution of imports." The whole list points rather to other, fortuitous criteria for project selection.

These restructuring projects are to cost about 700 billion zlotys, which is tantamount to barely 7 percent of gross investments and one-fourth of the continued investments. "This is pitifully little," comments Stanislaw Albinowski.

It is characteristic that the authors of "Variants" themselves do not believe in any extensive changes in the existing structure. In their balance sheet of manpower resources they do not mention any influx of manpower from subsectors or plants that could be shut down owing to inefficient performance and (or) use of obsolete technologies. It may be suspected that in general they do not foresee such a situation.

Yet, fundamental changes are indispensable if the principal barriers of limited availability of raw and other materials and energy as well as of [foreign] indebtedness are to be overcome.



For the benefit of the public the planners sometimes argue that limiting access to energy, fuels and raw materials will compel enterprises to adopt conservation measures and restructure and modernize themselves. This is not certain, and in many cases it even is hardly likely. Docent Cezary Jozefiak of Lodz University expects rather that, in practice, instead of strengthening an economic system promoting such measures, the system of rationing basic means for the production of fuels and energy will be expanded. He claims that the tensions in the economy will grow.

Similarly, basic changes in the size and structure of exports appear hardly likely. "Variants" confines itself to

#### Autarkic Concepts

according to Prof Bozyk. It does not envisage opening a window to the world, perhaps because that would inevitably entail decisions transcending the economic and management sphere. He also added that "It is necessary to consider the consequences of the further degradation of the economy that is menacing us."

Ryszard Bugaj of the Polish Academy of Sciences stated: "There's a need for unconventional solutions, for opening up the economy, also for investments with participation of Western capital, and primarily for a broad development of coproduction."

Andrzej Karpinski likewise claims: "The possibilities in this respect are tremendous."

All the economists can name the domains in which there is a chance for expanding foreign trade. Konrad Bajan perceives it to lie in processed agricultural products and foodstuffs and Andrzej Karpinski, in the industries relating to the domestic raw materials base--the mineral, wood, chemical, ceramics and food industries, as well as in transit services and the construction of industrial facilities. However, according to Stanislaw Albinowski, it is hardly possible to speak of export planning considering that marketing studies are being conducted and utilized only to a minimal extent. "Usually what happens is that we first build a factory and only then try to export its products. Yet, investment or modernization projects should be undertaken only after we can determine through prior research the existence of export opportunities." Regarding assistance for exporters, "Variants" contains several sensible proposals.

The implementation of all the aims contained in Variants will be markedly--and according to a majority of economists, decisively--affected by the

#### Operating System

of the economy and progress in applying the economic reform. The material presented for public consultation describes only the basic directions of action. These refer to strengthening reformed economic mechanisms, restructuring the [command-economy] allocation system, continuing the reform of management and institutionally promoting exports and effective actions as well

as conservation. But they are low on specifics, in view of the adopted assumption that the entire document represents merely a plan concept.

Stanislaw Albinowski comments as follows on the institutional [systemic, or operating-system] questions: "My opinion was asked on a version of this document. I stated that its overall design is such as if the economic reform hadn't existed. Therefore, the published version was complemented with a chapter on the reform, but the nature itself of the plan was in no way altered."

Cezary Jozefiak also is concerned about the fate of the economic reforming process: "Many of the 'Directions of the Reform' voted 4 years ago have not been implemented to this very day. But they should not be abandoned, and instead a precise schedule for their rapid implementation should be drawn up." He concludes: "Of a certainty, changes in the system of the social formulation and supervision of economic policies will be indispensable."

Ryszard Bugaj also draws attention to the social factor: "For the principal problem is the shortage of social motivation. Yet, the plan, according to which a rise in consumption (wages) would be barely perceptible, or too a plan envisaging an improvement in the material situation of 10-20 percent of the citizens along with a decline in or mere maintenance of the living standards of the remaining population, may prove unacceptable to the society."

Prof Bajan similarly comments: "The society's acceptance of these assumptions is hardly conceivable."

Stanislaw Albinowski voices his doubts: "A misfortune would await us if everything were to proceed in the directions and manner described by 'Variants.'"

The discussion continues. Referring to "Variants" at a party-economic conference in Poznan, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski clearly stressed that whoever has another and better concept can offer it. The need to formulate it, or at least to introduce fundamental changes in "Variants," appears obvious to many observers of economic life.

1386

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POLAND

## COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SET PROGRAM FOR REST OF 1985

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jul 85 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Work of the Council of Ministers in 1985. Activities in the Second Half of the Year"; passages in Slantlines rendered in boldface in text]

[Text] The main avenues of government work in the second half [of 1985] will embrace 15 basic topical fields:

/Reinforcing political and legal institutions of the socialist state./

Among other things, the following are included: ensuring essential organizational and technical conditions for preparing the elections to the parliament of the PRP, including preparation of government proposals for the election platform of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], enforcing and strengthening legislation protecting law and public order, e.g. continuation of anti-speculation measures, ensuring operating conditions for the IRCH [Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate], analyzing implementation of post-control conclusions of the NIK [Main Chamber of Control], evaluation of the functioning of the law on specific penal responsibility, preparing the bill on the ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens Militia], increasing the efficiency of state administration operations, determining the tasks of the state organs entailed by the resolutions of the 19th PZPR Central Committee plenum aimed at the vigorous involvement of the creative potential of Polish intelligentsia in the socio-economic development of our country, preparing materials reviewing the implementation of the August 1980 accords.

/Continuing the foreign policy reinforcing the position of Poland in the socialist commonwealth./

Among other things, the following are included: continuing work on the coordination of plans with the socialist countries (e.g. a review of the implementation of the CMEA summit resolutions and the program of cooperation with the USSR), continuing activities associated with Poland joining the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, preparing legislative arrangements for the operation of mixed companies with foreign participation in Poland.

/Shaping basic proportions in the national economy./

Among other things, the following are included: ensuring complete fulfillment of CPR-85 [Central Yearly Plan], preparing a draft CPR for 1986 and scenarios of the NPSG [National Socio-Economic Plan] for the years 1986 through 1990, as well as determining the country's development tasks in the outline of the long-range plan through the year 1995, keeping the volume of investment outlays down to the level envisaged by this year's plan, streamlining methods for managing the economy (e.g. preparing an outline of development for a new operations system in the economy in the years 1986-1990 as well as a program of structural changes in the economy, working out a system of evaluating state enterprises, preparing a bill on counteracting monopolistic practices in the economy), ensuring the supply of raw and other materials for the economy, economical management of available material resources and improving the level of quality of products and services (e.g. preparing a bill on standardization and quality classification of products).

/Material foundations of economic activity./

Among other things, the following are included: outlining the mode of operation and accepting development programs for selected economic sectors (e.g. the machine tool and implement industries, foundries, shipbuilding, meeting the economy's needs in spare parts, production of building materials, reconstruction of the wood processing and match industries); evaluating the implementation of plans for using electronics and robots in production, modernization of production processes (e.g. using selected technologies from the socialist countries).

/Issues of the national food supply, agriculture and the food industry./

Among other things the following are included: implementation of the government program for development of agriculture and the food economy in accordance with the resolution of parliament of May 1985, providing conditions for carrying out smoothly the fall harvest of root and fodder crops, evaluating the implementation of the programs for nourishment of the nation which were accepted earlier, shaping appropriate modes of nourishment adjusted to the present opportunities of the state.

/Housing construction and the communal economy./

Among other things, the following are included: continuation of work entailed by the parliamentary resolution on housing policy, ensuring smooth operation of the communal economy, housing management and the energy economy for fall and winter, streamlining mass transit in cities and improving conditions for commuting to work, developing rapid transit systems in urban areas.

/Employment and wages./

Among other things, the following are included: working out new legal arrangements in the sphere of labor relations and preparing a bill on collective

bargaining, improving and regimenting the financial and economic measures boosting the incentive function of wages, pegging the increase in wages to that in productivity, introducing revisions in the guidelines for remuneration of certain employee groups, actions aimed at improving conditions on the job, hygiene and safety.

/Social policy of the state, health care, social welfare./

Among other things, the following are included: improving the forms of assistance and social welfare for low-income individuals and families as well as care of the old and handicapped (e.g. completing work on the bill on the organization and financing of social security, accepting an action program in the field of health resort operation until 1990, providing detailed guidelines for the appreciation of retirement benefits and annuities, extending the system of aid to families to farmers' children), streamlining the health care system and the supply of medicine for the populace (e.g. working out a bill on health care).

/Market conditions./

Among other things, the following are included: ensuring proper operation of the market, increasing the assortment of goods and counteracting inflationary phenomena.

/Science and technological progress, education and upbringing./

Among other things, the following are included: continuation of activities aimed at using scientific achievements in practice, drawing the scientific and artistic communities into carrying out social and economic plans, providing programs for upbringing activities in high schools, shaping study and work discipline, creating prerequisites for comprehensive knowledge of information storage, retrieval and computer technology in the process of education.

/Regardless of this, the government work schedule for the second half of this year envisages many undertakings concerning cooperative and non-socialized economic activity; the operation of technical services, culture, recreation, tourism and sport; protection, maintenance and utilization of natural resources as well as reviewing the legislation in effect./

Specific tasks of the Council of Ministers' work plan in the second half of this year are computer-controlled. The Council of Ministers' Office furnishes computer printouts to state administration organs or other units obligated to undertake certain actions. Information cards, which are filled out and forwarded to the office before a set deadline, are the basis for evaluating the degree of fulfillment.

9761

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POLAND

PRIEST MURDER JUSTIFICATION STATEMENT DEFENDED

Warsaw PREGLED KATOLICKI in Polish No 25, 23 Jul 85 p 6

[Text] POLITYKA (No 23), under the title, "Srodek i Skrajnosci" [The Center and the Extremes], published an interview with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by three journalists, Edward Chudzinski, Wlodzimierz Rydzewski and Andrzej Urbanczyk. This was an excerpt of the interview from the "three on one" series, published in its entirety in the Krakow monthly ZDANIE (No 5). Following are excerpts from the interview, different from those selected by POLITYKA.

[Answer] You will find areas of silence not only in our propaganda. For example, doesn't the church also use "knowledge control" on the subject of itself. Does the Catholic press write about everything, the dark pages of church history for example?

[Question] Of course not.

[Question] Since you have brought up the subject of the church, was the Torun trial necessary to remind the church of its dark pages? Couldn't this have been done earlier, in a different political climate? You will concede that the principal defendant in that trial was unusually unbelievable in his role of accuser of the church.

[Answer] For some he was, for others he wasn't. But please forgive what I am about to say. The argument that the accused became the accuser was and is promulgated by those who wanted to persuade the public that the government directed Piotrowski in that way. It wasn't the govern that chose Piotrowski as accuser of the church, but he who, in defending himself, appeared in that role. I think one should not magnify that role, because it should not be forgotten that the main issue in the trial was the fact that Piotrowski killed a man.

[Question] But the government broadcast Piotrowski's statements.

[Answer] In what sense?

[Question] For the public, on radio and television.

[Answer] Do you feel that what Piotrowski said about certain aspects of the activity of some priests should not have been made public at all? Since the public was familiar with the indictment, it should also have been familiar with arguments for the defense. . . . A few more supplementary words about the Torun trial. Let us not forget that this was a classic political trial and that is always governed by its own laws, regardless of the time and place. That is why I see nothing wrong in others issues being brought out in the course of the trial. That is how it has always been. The Niewiadomski case or the Brzest trial in the interwar years are examples. The chips always fly at a political trial.

RZECZPOSPOLITA of 14 Jun (No 134) gives information on a press conference for foreign journalists. "Legal Aspects of the Gdansk Trial." "The filing of 'declarations' by defendants. Trial law establishes a definite order of action which the presiding officer of the court is to maintain. The law provides, among other things, questioning whether the defendant admits to guilt and whether and what kind of explanations he desires to file in connection with the act with which he has been charged by the prosecutor. The defendants declined to submit such explanations. Polish trial law, it was emphasized, does not provide for defendants' submitting 'declarations' or 'political statements.' The defendants in the Gdansk trial did not want to submit explanations in connection with the crimes of which they had been accused, but they did exhibit an extreme desire to submit just such 'declarations' and 'political statements.'"

12776

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POLAND

PAX TO HEAD CENTER FOR MORAL ORDER

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 July 85 p 2

[Text] A meeting of regional directors, representatives of departments of the society's headquarters, the press and the PAX Publishing Institute took place 23 Jun at PAX's provincial branch in Lodz. Problems associated with the establishment of a center of social initiatives for moral order were discussed.

Vice premier Zenon Komended, chairman of PAX's board, presented the center's goals and tasks. They include, above all, action on behalf of moral order as the basis for social morality. Of particular importance, he said, is the development of human individuality in the family and work environment. During the meeting it was emphasized that this issue should predominate in the society's activities in the Sejm election campaign. From this also emerge tasks council members and members of autonomous units, the members of PAX. As was emphasized, PAX's obligation as a signatory to the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal, is to create a climate for human attitudes shaped on a foundation of a system of moral values. The platform for discussion and dialog on these subjects should be the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal.

It was stated that the foundation of national renewal is moral renewal. The newly created center in Lodz will serve that purpose through publicity and program activity.

12776  
CSO: 2600/996



POLAND

CATHOLIC PRESS 'REHABILITATION' ATTEMPT CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by Ignacy Krasicki: "The True Reasons for Attempts at Rehabilitation of A. Szeptycki"]

[Excerpts] The controversial figure of the former Greek Orthodox metropolitan of Lwow, Andrzej Szeptycki, who died 41 years ago, keeps returning to newspaper columns in a number of ways.

This offspring of an old Polish line (his brother Stanislaw was even a general in the Polish Army), who from his early youth voluntarily adhered to chauvinistic Ukrainian irredentism, was known for his controversial, undoubtedly anti-Polish, as well as intensely anti-communist and anti-Soviet attitudes.

In order to avoid swearing a loyalty oath to the president of the Polish Republic, Metropolitan Szeptycki left the country, establishing close ties at the dawn of the Second Republic with the contemporary leaders of the movement on behalf of an "independent Ukraine." He could have proved himself to them by his pastoral letter written even earlier, in which he declared himself as a "patriotic Ruthenian" and called point blank for struggle with Poles.

Praise for the SS-Galizien and Ukrainian Insurrection Army

However, the height of the Lwow metropolitan's political activity came during World War II.

This venerable Orthodox bishop already at that time praised Hitler, Ukrainian chauvinists, the SS-Galizien divisions and Ukrainian Insurrection Army bands. On 22 June 1941, the day of Nazi Germany's attack on the USSR, the Ukrainian independence group known as the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists convened the so-called consolidating congress which was to unite all local factions and emigrant fascists. Szeptycki cooperated directly with its organizers through the priests he introduced to the congress, Hlinka, Dumanskyj and Baziuk.

But why do all these facts still demand remembering?

For some time certain Polish Catholic publications, including Krakow's TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and Warsaw's PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI and the monthlies ZNAK and

WIEZ, have glorified Szeptycki as an "unimpeachable" and "martyred" apostle to the Slavic East. Thus it was, for example, last fall during the 40th anniversary of the death of the Lwow Orthodox bishop.

It is also interesting that in general the memories of Andrzej Szeptycki published in the above mentioned columns touch on the broad context of his activity, namely the problem of the possible expansion of that time of the union to the Ukrainian, White Russian and Russian Orthodox churches. There is also the matter of the possible elevation in our time of the seat of the Greek Catholic metropolitan and in the future perhaps even the patriarch, about which incidentally the late Orthodox bishop always dreamed and for which he strove with all his might. And what is the intention of certain church circles today, including appropriate Vatican branches or the leaders of the Basilian Order.

'A just man among nations'?

These same circles, in Poland as well as in the Vatican and abroad (including chauvinist Ukrainians living as emigrants in the USA and Canada) even hint that the would-be patriarch of the union could before long be canonized by the Roman Catholic church.

In connection with this, what is most interesting and significant are the echoes the figure of Andrzej Szeptycki has recently produced in what would seem to be a completely different camp.

Thus the well known Israeli newspaper THE JERUSALEM POST in No 15934 of 12 June published an open letter signed by 18 prominent Zionists once condemned by the Soviet judicial system for activity directed against the USSR. In this letter these anti-Soviet militants from Israel demand from the Yad Washen Institute in Jerusalem nothing less than conferring Szeptycki with the medal of "A Just Man Among Nations" and planting a symbolic tree in Israel in his memory.

How do the signers of this unusual letter "justify" their intention to posthumously "rehabilitate" or simply glorify a man on whose conscious, at least indirectly, weighs the responsibility for spilling the blood of hundreds if not thousands of Jewish victims in numerous pogroms.

One must say that the "arguments" published in THE JERUSALEM POST avoid sophistry and are essentially very simple. Its authors in all cynicism admit that "they indeed understand the feelings of those who in the dark night prevailing over the occupied Ukraine lost their family and friends" (not without the obvious culpability of such Ukrainian spiritual leaders as Metropolitan Szeptycki in particular) but ex post they call for "forbearance and a realistic appraisal" of the situation that existed then. "There is no doubt," they declare, "that Ukrainian national leaders (including Szeptycki) could not expect freedom, independence or even mercy on Russia's part. Thus they turned to Germany as the only power really capable of liberating the Ukraine."

Given this choice (a proper one, in the opinion of the signers of the letter), the effects of Szeptycki's collaboration with Germany were easy to predict. "How many people could there have been who cared about the lot of Ukrainian

Jews? No doubt some people (in that kind of atmosphere) believed the fewer Jews the better," they write with apparent tolerance for the anti-Semitic attitude and actions of the clergy under Szeptycki.

After Urban VIII and Leo XIII

Szeptycki's collaboration with the Nazis during the war was a fact proved beyond all doubt. REgarding the campaign against the Jews, the Ukrainian fascists so dear to the bishop of St. George's bishopric surpassed the invader. Why then did these 18 Zionists publish in the influential columns of THE JERUSALEM POST a letter that "rehabilitates" and praises the memory of the late metropolitan?

The answer to that question can only be as follows:

As during World War II Nazi German seemed the "lesser evil," despite the "Holocaust," than communism and the USSR, so now the commemoration of the spiritual leader of radically nationalistic Ukrainian irredentism and the figure of Metropolitan Szeptycki hostile to Poland can best be used, in their opinion, in the current conflict with the USSR, Poland and the entire socialist East.

Undoubtedly it is from this that the inspiration is drawn for the otherwise astounding tolerance by certain Israeli circles of the anti-Semitic posture of the Lwow metropolitan.

The "rehabilitation," after so many years, of the vocal patron of Ukrainian chauvinists thus accomplished now in Israel is simply to serve the ideological and political goals of the anti-Soviet and anti-socialist crusade. It is a unique "good conduct certificate" because, presented to the Lwow metropolitan in Israel today, it has particular value for the church apologists of Szeptycki and his work.

"Mei Rutheni, per vos ego Orientem convertendum spero!" (Oh my Ruthenians, with your help I hope to convert the East!), Pope Leo XIII exclaimed over 100 years ago, repeating the words of his predecessor Urban VIII during an audience with a Ukrainian delegation from Galicia in the Vatican. The hagiographic descriptions of the attitude and actions of Andrzej Szeptycki 41 years after death by part of the Catholic press are undoubtedly a modernization and continuation of this same orientation, adapted to current requirements.

That publication in the columns of THE JERUSALEM POST, amazing in its nerve and contempt for facts, shows the kind of political interpretation that that orientation can acquire.

12776

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POLAND

# CATHOLIC SEJM DELEGATE SUPPORTS CHURCH POLITICAL ROLE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13-14 Jul 85 pp 1-2

[Interview with Sejm delegate Zbigniew Zielinski by Ryszarda Kazimierska; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] You say as a Catholic delegate from the platform of the Sejm that members of the Polish Catholic Social Union engaging in public affairs are guided above all by the obligation to serve the common good.

[Answer] The church's social teachings, particularly the council's spiritual constitution on the contemporary church, demands this. "Let all Christians," we read in this document, "be conscious of this special and proper calling in the political community, on the strength of which they should set an example, fulfill their obligations conscientiously, serve the common good and show in action how it is possible to reconcile authority with freedom, individual initiative with limited restraint and the requirements of the social body and useful unity with productive variety. In setting worldly matters in order, let them take into account just opinions, though they may differ among themselves and let them respect the people as well as associates who honestly defend those opinions."

I allowed myself to quote that excerpt from "Gaudium et spes" since the Catholic Church's position is not adequately disseminated either among believers or among all those who are disposed to criticize the church for drawing the faithful from worldly matters.

[Question] In recent years the church has surely not led the faithful away; on the contrary, it has brought them into matters of this world, including political matters, which has often provoked criticism.

[Answer] In response I would again use a quote. It is advice contained in the Second Vatican Council's decree on secular evangelism. "In loving their country and honestly fulfilling their civic obligations, Catholics should be aware of their responsibility to promote the true common good; by their opinions let them exert pressure so that secular authority would be justly executed and laws would meet the requirements of moral dictates and the common good. Let Catholics conversant in public affairs and adequately confirmed in Christian faith and doctrine not withdraw from fulfilling public duties, since

in fulfilling them properly they can contribute to the common good and clear the way for the Gospel."

[Question] For the time being there are not too many Catholics at the top of the pyramid of authority in Poland.

[Answer] The deputy speaker of the Sejm is a Catholic. We have a Catholic vice premier, a member of the State Council. Secular Catholics are currently in the Sejm and people's councils and in the structures of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal. I hope that the October elections to the Sejm and later the formation of the new State Council and cabinet will widen the circle of Catholics at the top of the pyramid.

As the church in a secular nation demands no privileges for itself besides respect for its rights flowing from the principle of freedom of religion and human rights, so also believing citizens want no privileges for themselves. They desire only that in accordance with the constitution, they be vested in fact with the same rights and obligations as other citizens. This sense of equal laws and obligations is a significant prerequisite for the building of social and religious order in our nation, for the fortification of real freedom for all Poles.

[Question] You have said that you are present in public, social and political life. Believers and non-believers, Catholics and Marxists at one table. What is the formula for this participation?

[Answer] The formula for the participation of secular Catholics in public life is based on the idea that is making known the need for cooperation and joint responsibility of Polish Catholics for the development of statehood in its socialist governmental forms, we reserve the right to critical appraisal of the government's actions and decisions, to public expression in these matters and above all to presentation of our point of view in proposed solutions. Where there are differences we try to clarify our position objectively and arrive at comprehension of it on the part of our partners.

[Question] Yet it does happen that the partners differ fundamentally and the divergence of opinions is too great.

[Answer] Then we try to maintain our position to the end. This concerns particularly those solutions that vary from the principles of Catholic ethics.

If the tasks that stand before secular Catholics are properly understood, then it is impossible, to use the words of Paul VI, to be a passive element, a neutral one, even one contrary to the wave of the spirit with which Christianity fills souls. That is why as an association, being one of the signatories of the declaration on the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal, we want to take part in shaping the reality around us. We want to embrace with out interest and action matters of personal human rights and family circumstances, matters of economics, culture and the arts, occupational interests and problems of state administration.

In shaping the face of the country and society today, cooperation between believers and non-believers becomes ever more important and crucial. Of course, the most important issue is the need to build dialog between the church and state. I think the prospects for formulating church-state relations are optimistic in spite of certain tensions. But without waiting for decisions at the highest level, we can and should continue this cooperation for the common good in society itself. Cooperation is necessary in overcoming social plagues--alcoholism, crime, hooliganism. Joint concern by believers and non-believers, Catholics and Marxists, is needed for justice and respect for the rights due man, for social integrity and an honest attitude toward work.

An attempt at mutual trust and good will is necessary to establish in society the awareness that people need people, that the weak, sick and hopeless should be helped. The obligation to strive for the proper and universal dissemination of humanistic values is common to believers and non-believers.

[Question] Common but on many issues different?

[Answer] We Catholics see many issues as well as the means of resolving them differently. But this does not mean worse or, as we are sometimes accused, from a hostile position as regards present reality. Let us remember what primate Stefan Wyszynski said: "The church's work is not attitude of enmity; it is merely the bringing of help and service, an effort for it to feel bound by moral principles to accountability, not only before humanity, but before God as well.

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POLAND

## JOURNAL INITIATES NEW CATHOLIC-MARXIST DIALOGUE

### Catholic Attitudes Accused of 'Hardening'

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 32-33, 11-18 Aug 85 p 7

[Text] Under the resounding headline, "Catholics and Marxists at the ZDANIE table," that magazine (No 6) published the discussion entitled "Dialog, the new reality."

Professor Andrzej Grzegorzczuk: The Catholic circle has become more closed and stiffened since the election of a Pole as pope and the emergence of Solidarity. I would say simply that it has become more "party-like" with a greater feeling of solidarity resulting from affiliation with one organization. A person from the Catholic circle invited to participate in any undertaking more than every before thinks about what the bishops or even the primage or pope will say. The pope is Polish, he speaks our language and to a certain degree surrounds himself with Poles. Thus everything is somehow subject to much greater control by the Vatican than during other pontificates. Catholic publications and the bishops feel that control. And they prefer not to start something that might be criticized.

I would call this kind of stiffening one caused by the world wide situation. There is another kind--the effect of the internal situation in post-Solidarity Poland. Solidarity no longer functions as an organization but there is an attitude, an atmosphere in circles condemning certain people, clearly qualifying them as good, other as bad. The pressure of opinion is much stronger now than 10 years ago. Both kinds of stiffening create in people a certain caution, a kind of withdrawal and facilitate if not fanatic attitudes then an internal exile of Catholic circles. For those reasons it would be impossible for your editorial offices to invite a great number of people from the Primate's Council, for example, to a similar discussion, since they feel an organizational mark and would have to come to an understanding, and so on.

Professor Marian Stepień: We have had our own editorial experience in this regard.

Professor Andrzej Grzegorzczuk: In that case you should say this in your columns. Or at least create circumstances under which people say yes or no, but openly.

Professor Marian Stepień: We cannot do that for obvious reasons. A person who refused to participate in a discussion has the right to refuse without the fear that someone will later attempt to condemn him for it.

Professor Andrzej Grzegorzczak: I understand that naming those who refuse is not easy. But what I mean is to show openly that some people do not want to talk or undertake dialog. The exchange of opinions and ideas in the public sphere must be more regular.

That is why in spite of everything I am for condemning attitudes of refusal.

#### Basis for, Barriers to Dialogue Discussed

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 32, 10 Aug 85 p 3

[Text] "There is a fairly large and significant area of values accepted by many Poles regardless of their philosophical posture and political orientation. It is conviction that in the sphere of Catholic personalism there are certain values that Marxists should respect, accept and support. And conversely, the socialist ideology also carries with it real values beside which European Catholicism, in its most interesting currents, has not bypassed with indifference." This opinion, formulated by Marian Stepień, editor in chief of ZDANIE (No 6) reflects the conviction of Marxist and Catholic philosophers who took part in a discussion organized by that Krakow monthly. We are in position to present just a few excerpts.

The main thread of the discussion was the need for dialog. But "must the words church and episcopate be used at once in order to come to a discussion between Catholics and Marxists," asked Professor Andrzej Grzegorzczak, offering the argument that to a greater or lesser degree dialog has existed in practice. "Cooperation is a cultural fact and in many institutions belongs to our peculiar customs." But he has another reservation when it comes to the current form of dialog. "I have a sense of a certain crisis of ideologies. For there have been periods in our most recent history when citing the slogans of socialism was much more inspiring than it is today. Today we expect less from the slogans of Marxist ideology as well as from the church's social teachings because we have reached the point of such elementary deficiencies that ideology is no longer the point. The slogan today could be: How to survive or how to survive relatively honestly. It is necessary to rescue small institutions, economic ones above all; it is necessary to do specific things together, to fight for very simple issues, i.e., for the level of higher schools and their self-determination and the possibility of their real development."

The same participant later pointed to certain specific impediments to dialog, including "the effect of the internal situation in post-Solidarity Poland. Solidarity no longer functions as an organization, but there is an attitude, an atmosphere in circles condemning certain people, clearly qualifying some as good, others as bad. The pressure of opinion is much stronger now than 10 years ago. The exchange of opinions and ideas in the public sphere must be more



regular. That is why in spite of everything I am for condemning attitudes of refusal."

Professor Jerzy J. Wiatr spoke out against fetishizing the notion of dialog. "Dialog is not the goal. Dialog can at most be a means--and not the only one--to the goal of creating a social atmosphere in which cooperation can include not only relatively obvious issues, but more difficult ones too. . . . The central issue, which cooperation should serve, is the creation of an atmosphere that eliminates fanaticism and confrontational tendencies. I think in our situation this is the key issue and if not settled will make it impossible to resolve these elementary questions. . . . Thus there must emerge a climate in which people are aware of what makes them different--but they are bound by at least one thing--opposition to attitudes politically or ideologically motivated by hatred, in any case justified in various ways."

Professor Wladyslaw Markiewicz agreed with Professor Grzegorzczuk. Historical experience shows that whatever we have managed to build was thanks to the coorotation between Catholics and Marxists that has actually existed for decades. "Are we building something together now? Something, certainly. But I am fraid that above all we are mutually destroying ourselves. . . ." Professor Markiewicz had in mind the degradation of Poland but above all the spread of the so-called technological gap and the threat of ecological catastrophe.

"When will we be able to talk about dialog in Poland?" asked Dr. Wlodzimierz Rydzewski. "It seems to me that what we have now at best can be called coexistence or perhaps even, if I may use a neologism, 'side-by-side existence.' This is very dangerous and bears the mark of tragedy. It is also strongly spectacular--fragmentation of publications, of culture, of platforms of opinion, etc. The penetrability of these sharp divisions is very small. It is necessary therefore to strive to eliminate these entrenchments on both sides. People in the center are in the clear minority and what is more, others treat them a little like volunteer casualties and often simply attack them. I feel that each of us, in attempting to eliminate this chasm, exposes himself, above exposes himself to those with whom he is identified. It is a long way to rational dialog as an attempt to create practical forms and planes that will fill today's chasm."

Dr. Jerzy R. Nowak made a parallel with Hungary. "There were no great words there. There was pragmatism, daily compromises, confirmation and broadening of the social basis of the government. And in Poland currently only in this way can we overcome the people's bitterness and most broadly use the reserves remaining in society. It is crucial, especially for young generations of Poles, to overcome the feeeling of impossibility, of constant aiming for circumstances like those of the highly technologically developed countries of the West."

In professor Stepien's opinion, what most threatens Polish society now is indifference and widespread apathy. Who is responsible for this?

"I believe that Catholics and the Catholic church alike bear the great responsibiliy for all I have been talking about. It is true that in our socialist state the communist party and government in which it has a majority

rules. But after all the authority of the party and government is limited authority, since they do not have great capabilities to produce in society the responses, conduct and reactions they desire. Not much has resulted yet from the issuance of orders, bans, rules, decrees and laws. Who knows whether the church does not have a greater, actual, authentic authority in the realm of shaping human moral attitudes. And to those who ask the communists, 'what have you done; after all, you have the government, the authority,' one must answer that from the beginning, since 1945, in the realm of shaping human moral attitudes, authority was not only in the hands of the party and the government. Throughout that time the church also held authority and exercised control of major institutional capabilities. The church will also not escape responsibility for the moral degradation of Polish society before history. Unfortunately, so often we hear the opinion: You are responsible for this; socialism is to blame for everything. Then I ask, and what was the church doing at that time? . . .

"I am saying all this because I believe that if we are to carry on authentic dialog, we must also change the proportions of the appraisal of our recent past. . . . We have the right to expect from the church more energetic action to reconstruct the ruined tissue of society. . . . And I am afraid that such a situation is simply convenient for the church now. For people come to church above all in distress and destitution. When the people have computers, yachts, houses, cars and exotic trips, they begin to desert the churches. Perhaps my opinion is inaccurate but how do I account for more than three years of specific decline. Absence, silence in issues fundamental to the people. Meanwhile, the distance of civilization separating Poland from other nations in our cultural circle is widening."

Professor Grzegorzczuk opposed this sequence. "What about the agricultural foundation? Doesn't it show that it is the church that wants to bring the villages out of poverty while 'the government doesn't want to?' I could say then that the government wants poverty for the people in order to rule more easily. That would be as invalid as Professor Stepień's words.

But isn't this mutual placing of blame exaggerated? Professor Wiatr's statement, with which we will close this review, is interesting. "Let us not create the impression that we are sitting on ruins and arguing with the church whether only the party and its allies are responsible for the ruins or perhaps the church as well. . . . Let us also say that what was created and what is positive--and I believe on balance there are more positives than negatives--is also a consequence of the fact that despite all tensions, relations between the Marxist camp and the church have from the start turned out much better than could be expected from the nature of things. Both sides spared Poland, despite the distortions of the 1950s and a confrontation that could have led to incomparably worse results than any crises."

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POLAND

SYMPOSIUM HELD ON CHURCH, POLITICS

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 31-32, 11-18 Aug 85 p 6

[Text] Amid growing discussion in Poland on the church's mission and its direct or indirect influence on public, on 11 and 12 June in the Papal Theological Department in Wroclaw a symposium devoted to the problem of "the church and politics" was held. It was organized by a group of professors and lecturers in Catholic social studies with the Episcopal Committee on Science. Professor H. Waskiewicz of Lublin Catholic University [LCU] presented the first lecture on "The Church and State in the History of Christian Philosophical and Social Thought." A report by Professor R. Bendera (LCU) entitled "Socio-political Involvement by the Church in the Period of National Slavery" was an extension of discussions devoted to the historical separation of church and state. The report provoked a broad discussion related to the state of political and national consciousness of Polish society of that period and its differentiation in individual partitioned sectors. "A Model of Relations between Church and State under Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski," submitted by Professor Czeslaw Strzeszewski, was a continuation of that issue.

Moving from historical and empirical topics to problems of system, Rev J. Kondziela, dean of the Department of Social Studies at LCU, spoke on "Major Means of Understanding Politics," while Rev J. Majka, rector of the Papal Theological Department in Wroclaw, introduced the significant topic of "Political Activity or the Church's Prophetic Function?" After broad and controversial discussion, Rev W. Piwowarski (LCU) presented the basic lecture entitled "The Church and State in Catholic Social Science," which he shed light on the evolution as well as the post-council position of the church in the matters of relations between church society and state society.

Besides discussion in the institutional sphere, the same issues were discussed in their cultural and symbolical-political aspects. A panel gave its attention to these varied issues: Rev J. Sieg [----] (Art 2, item 6 of the law on the control of publications and displays of 31 July 1981 [DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99], amended in 1983 [DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204]) of Krakow and priest-professors from Wroclaw, Jan Krucina, Antoni Mlotek, M. Chlopowiec and S. Pawlaczek. Rev Krucina closed the conference with his lecture on "The Theology of Liberation as Expressed by John Paul II."

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POLAND

## PENSION CHANGES EXPLAINED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jul 85 pp 1,4

[Text] All of those who will retire this year or the following year are calling, writing, and asking us: please, explain how our retirement benefits are going to be computed. Are they going to be based as before on the 1-year remuneration (12 months) or on the earnings for the last 3-year period (36 months) as it was suggested, among others, by the government spokesman at a press conference?

Andrzej Paczos, deputy minister of labor, wages, and social affairs, invited a group of reporters to explain that there was no reason for alarm. The proposals for changes in the computation of the retirement benefits, presented by his ministry to the government, have been given preliminary approval. However, they require further consultations with the trade unions and -- most of all -- approval by the Sejm as they are related to the changes in the bill on the retirement benefits of December 1982. The government will introduce the said changes to the 9th Sejm and, therefore, they will take effect no sooner than 1 January 1987 according to Paczos. The reporters wanted to know what was the reason for introducing changes to a very new bill in effect for just 2.5 years. Paczos' response can be summarized in three points: [1] social disapproval of disclosed abuses of the retirement statutes (more about it below); [2] our basis for the computation of benefits is the most liberal among the socialist countries (e.g. in Bulgaria -- 3 years selected out of the last 15 years of employment; in Czechoslovakia -- 5 out of the last 10 years; or Yugoslavia -- the last 10 years, or the best 10 years when covered by the retirement plan); and [3] the introduction of legal requirement to adjust retirement benefit pay on a yearly basis as of March 1986 makes the fear of the benefits depreciation totally baseless.

The gist of the said ministry's proposal is basing the computation of benefits on the earnings in the last 3 years, however, the remunerations of the first 2 years would be adjusted. For example, if one earned 17,000 zlotys in 1984, 19,500 in 1985, and 22,000 in 1986, and he intended to retire as of 1 January 1987, then -- according to computations offered by Paczos -- the 3-year earnings of that person would amount to 58,500 zlotys; however, after adjusting the first 2 years, it would reach 67,580 zlotys. Thus, the average remuneration for the purpose of computing the benefits would amount to 22,530 zlotys.

Now, returning to the abuses of the retirement statutes, the reporters were presented eight examples including a teacher, whose total base salary to be used for computing of benefits reached 50,139 zlotys (it included his overtime pay, which was twice the amount of his base salary as a teacher); a chief accountant, who presented the amount of 42,036 zlotys, while only 40 percent of this amount constituted her total base salary (the rest was bonuses and cash awards); and a director of a Polish emigre manufacturing company, whose monthly pay was 40-50,000 zlotys, but just before retiring he was given an award of 500,000 zlotys, which substantially increased his disability pension.

These are striking examples, no doubt, but it is difficult to consider them representative for the thousands of people who retire every year. Any such generalization would be particularly difficult in view of the fact that the ministry has no data to show the extent of such abuses. Paczos explained that the proposed changes are intended to eliminate instances when in the last year of employment the remunerations of the would-be retirees suddenly skyrocket with the secret approval of their employers.

Another proposed change in the bill is to introduce a regulation allowing persons, who continue working beyond their retirement age, to acquire eligibility for a 5 percent increase of their remuneration for each additional year of their employment. Paczos added that under consideration is the exclusion of this 5 percent increase from the current requirement that the total amount of the retirement pay and supplemental benefits may not exceed 100 percent of the remuneration basis used for the benefit computation. It is expected that the proposed changes would be effective until 1990.

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POLAND

## PRICE INCREASES DEFENDED WITH RESERVATIONS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 13 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by Col Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director, State Public Opinion Study Center (CeBOS)]

[Text] The price increases demonstrate how much the way of wielding power has changed, particularly with regard to making important decisions of national scope and consequences. In the past any such economic operation produced in general tempestuous political consequences. The last two -- last year and this year -- passed normally without any disturbances (even though the underground called for such).

The price increases for foodstuffs announced at the end of 1983 were not a surprise. Most of the people expected increases in prices for foodstuffs. The announcement of the State Price Office was a surprise only to those who did not expect that in the continuing difficult political situation the government would decide to take such a risky step.

The substantial majority of the adult urban population<sup>1</sup> -- the urban population for understandable reasons counts the most when it comes to increases in foodstuff prices -- defined their situation as either bearable or difficult (86 percent). Those, who defined their material situation as good or tragic constituted only a few percent (8.6 percent and 5.6 percent, respectively). No wonder, therefore, that the announcement of the price increases was taken as a danger signal. Many "did not see" the economic arguments in the announcement and in the information released later. They simply refused to acknowledge them. Let us make clear that they were motivated to do so by political reasons rather than the lack of merit in the economic arguments.

The price increase plan, announced in advance of consultations, and the accompanying figures, demonstrating the increase in the cost of living, in many instances were considered false and intentionally lowered. In response to questions, the CeBOS respondents stated that they did not see any other alternative, or they had not considered any, and they did not see any difference. When asked to indicate a better solution, the majority -- 74 percent -- chose the answer "none" or "I do not know." Only 18 percent chose one of the alternatives suggested in the poll; the remaining 8 percent chose "the one, which will be approved by all."

The majority believed that the result of the consultations will have no effect on the decision taken, or that the announced results will be false. Therefore, as a rule the respondents did not participate in consultations and showed no interest in them.

The respondents were for the most part negative toward the price increases. They were afraid of political consequences, such as strikes and street disturbances, although none of the respondents expressed a desire to take such a step.

A few respondents from the low-income group envisaged the possibility of the abandonment of pay increases, and they warned against the eruption of social protest hoping that their voices would reach the government before the decision is made. It could be seen that the threat of strike was in some cases a mental stereotype based on their conviction that a strike is the only effective means of manifestation of one's dissatisfaction and different view of problems faced by the society.

In addition to the expressed feeling of danger -- particularly among the lowest-income group (5000 zlotys per person) -- the following were typical reactions to the price increase: nasty comments about the "rulers" and "aggressive" vocabulary (mainly among unskilled workers); and fear of the future and feeling of helplessness (among other groups).

When asked "Why is the government introducing price increases?" more than 90 percent of the respondents ascribed good intentions to the government (to restore the market balance, to liquidate inflation, and to eliminate the subsidies for food). Fewer than 4 percent suspected the government of ill will and there were even some who viewed it as a means to provoke strikes.

The belief in the government's good intentions was not always accompanied by the belief in the effectiveness and competence of its activities: many expressed the fear that "the government means well, but its ability to succeed is in question.

Most respondents even at that time viewed the situation realistically and predicted that there would be more price increases; 81 percent expressed the belief that it would be "only one of many awaiting us."

The views on the effects of the price increase were divided between two opposite positions: 55.4 percent negative against 33.4 percent positive. The price increase was not really linked with any possibility of future change. More than one-half of the respondents feared that it would bring more losses than gains, while 23 percent expected only losses. Those, who saw in it an investment for the future constituted 21 percent. Nevertheless, the majority-- 57.5 percent--considered the increase inevitable and 41 percent considered it unavoidable. The highest level of acceptance of the price increase was noted among the older people, small town dwellers (up to 50,000 inhabitants), and the white-collar workers.

Last January the CeBOS conducted a poll among the urban population on the price increases this year.<sup>2</sup> More than one-half of the respondents -- 58.4 percent -- believed that the price increases were inevitable, while 21.3 percent believed they were not and 18.3 percent had no opinion on the subject. With regard to the standard of living, 65 percent defined theirs as "not too good," or "neither good nor bad," that is, placed it in the middle of the seven-point scale. The bottom of the scale was chosen by 16 percent along with those who live in the poorest conditions, but 2.6 percent placed themselves at the top two levels on the scale and one-fifth of the respondents declined to answer the question.

The most typical comment on the announced future price increases was: "we will make it one way or the other." The most approving comments about the increases were offered by the managerial group. Among the unconvinced there were mostly retirees, unskilled workers, and students, that is, groups which do not have an opportunity to mitigate by themselves the effects of the price increases.

Less than 7 percent believed that the decision to increase prices would be halted due to a decisive resistance by the population and that the government would back down in view of negative feedback from consultations.

However, regardless of their positions on the price increases a significant number of respondents linked the said enterprise with expected positive changes in the economy. Some even suggested concrete solutions offering a chance to prevent price increases. More than 20 percent spoke in favor of constructive actions in the economic sphere such as: improvements in work organization; reduction of waste; utilization of suggestions in the work place; increases in production, efficiency, and labor discipline; improvements in product quality; increases in profits from exports, etc.

How do people manage in the new, more difficult conditions? So far nearly one-half of the respondents (47.4 percent) has not suffered any hardships in purchases of foodstuffs and they do not expect any in the future and one-third has had the same experiences with regard to services and clothes purchases. With regard to foodstuff purchases, 14 percent of respondents had to limit them drastically, while 22 percent intended to continue their purchase limitations and 16 percent envisaged a need for it in the future. The workers more frequently than other occupational groups wanted to cancel their vacations and some intended to take another job during their vacation time.

If their material situation deteriorates, the respondents intended to look for reserves mainly in their households by reducing their expenditures on services, clothes, socializing, cultural life, and in the last resort also by reducing foodstuff purchases.

The search for a better-paying job in another company was of interest to 20.4 percent of respondents, while 30.6 percent declared their intentions to find additional jobs. A considerable number of respondents expressed fear of a lower standard of living. The majority of them (56 percent of all respondents and 67 percent of the workers polled) agreed to price increases



on the condition that they would not be substantial, that the pay for work would be decent, and that there would be opportunities for additional work. Another condition to be met was the improvement in store supplies, in product quality, and in services ("I will accept higher prices, but I want more choices and better quality").

Judging from the poll, the majority of the people considered the price movement as a natural feature of the economy. Only a very insignificant segment of the respondents (2 percent; in general, respondents with elementary and incomplete elementary education, school children and retirees) expected prices to stabilize within a year. Some -- approximately 15 percent -- saw a chance for price stabilization within the coming five-year period. However, most of the respondents (53 percent) were convinced that the prices for basic consumer products would never achieve stability.

The poll questionnaire listed official arguments in favor of the price increase and the respondents were asked to evaluate their veracity and justification [see Table 1 below].

Table 1. What Is Your Attitude Toward the Following Explanations by the Government as to the Need for Price Increases? (Responses given in percentages)

Explanation	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	48.4	23.5	26.8	32.4	37.8	27.7
2.	57.2	15.9	25.5	33.3	36.7	27.7
3.	37.2	45.0	16.1	26.0	53.5	18.6
4.	25.7	25.1	47.5	16.0	37.2	44.5
5.	34.1	47.4	17.1	25.1	53.6	19.2

- Key:
1. Further deepening of the difference between the costs of the agricultural production and retail prices may lead to very high price increases in the future.
  2. This is hard reality and, therefore, the economic laws operate in our country as well.
  3. Such low productivity necessitates price increases.
  4. Price increases are necessitated by the Sejm decisions on the state budget for the year 1985.
  5. Price increases are necessary to abolish limitations on purchases of all products with the exception of meat and sugar.
  6. True.
  7. Untrue.
  8. I do not know.
  9. Sufficient basis for price increases
  10. Insufficient reason for price increases.
  11. No opinion.

Despite a rather negative attitude -- as usual -- toward the price increase, this time (January 1985) the comments on the reasons for it more clearly than ever reflected the belief that it might benefit the economy: an improvement of the state of the economy (e.g. correct price relations; overcoming of

the crisis; improvement in product quality and productivity; efficient use of raw materials; reduction of waste). Perhaps, for the first time in the history of People's Poland the price increases are met with understanding and they are viewed as an economic fact rather than an exclusively political one as they were perceived in the past. However, this understanding and social acceptance of the price movement should not lead one to far-reaching conclusions. Social attitudes are influenced by various factors, for example, presently the food supplies are better than during the previous price increases. The difference in the situation always affects the attitude of the society toward the so-called unpopular decisions. Thus, we continue to walk the thin line of what is politically acceptable.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A representative sample was polled in towns with population greater than 5000. The poll had been preceded by interviews with three occupational groups: the workers; staffers of the Voivodship Offices; and college faculty in Gdansk, Katowice, and Olsztyn in December of 1983.
2. The poll covered 2447 people, a representative sample of the adult urban population.

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POLAND

'CONSTITUTIONAL TRIBUNAL' HISTORY, FUNCTIONS EXPLAINED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 20 Jul 85 pp 6-7

[Interview with Professor Jan Ziembinski of the Marie Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin by Stanislaw Jadczyk; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Professor, you are one of the co-authors of the initial concept of the plan for a law on the Constitutional Tribunal, serving on the Committee of Experts on its form. But before I ask you to answer a few questions on that project, I would like to go back to the origins of the notion of establishing a constitutional tribunal in our country. Where did the idea of creating this institution, unheard of in our country, come from?

[Answer] It is indeed a new institution, heretofore unknown in the Polish legal system. It did exist before the war because the authors of the March Constitution recognized that any inconsistencies between laws of the Sejm and the constitution could be amended by the second house of parliament, the senate, while the authors of the April Constitution saw this as the president's role. It is worth noting, however, that academic circles and parliamentary groups from opposition parties, including "Piast," spoke out in favor of establishing such a tribunal. It did not come to that because the ruling camp feared that the opposition could use the decisions of the constitutional tribunal in the political struggle. After the war the notion of establishing a constitutional tribunal was formed in the resolutions of the First Congress of the Democratic Party's Main Council in January 1946 and later was renewed in the acts of the Democratic Party's Central Committee in October 1956. At that time it was a notion without a chance of fulfillment.

[Question] Why? After the war we stood on the March Constitution and the lack of a constitutional tribunal in its basic articles was seen as its first serious defect. It would therefore be logical not to duplicate the shortcomings of the March Constitution and establish a constitutional tribunal.

[Answer] A different attitude was in force at that time--that control of the consistency of the constitution with parliamentary law by an extra-parliamentary body was "a reactionary institution and thus had no place either in a socialist state or popular state which safely trusts in the fairness of the nation and its will." It was thought that establishment of a tribunal was

a limitation of the Sejm's superior role and that the validity of enacted legislation could not be questioned and appealed. The constitutional law of 19 February 1947 on the system and scope of activity of the highest bodies of the Polish Republic determined that the courts do not have the right to question the validity of "duly enacted" laws and decrees. The Constitution of 22 July 1952 adopted this principle.

[Question] On 26 March 1982 the constitution was amended and new rules on the constitutional tribunal were introduced. Thus we needed exactly 30 years to depart from the notion that it is a "reactionary institution."

[Answer] In the atmosphere of the cold war, many institutions familiar to the capitalist system were discarded as having in them an instrument for bourgeois struggle with the struggle with the working classes. Certainly there were instances where constitutional tribunals rescinded laws that were advantageous to the working classes, i.e., on social services. But on the other hand we have examples of solutions actually dictated by concern for law and order. We could use as an example the decision of the Federal Tribunal in West Germany, which dismissed the complaint--brought by the Christian Democratic Party in the beginning of the 1970s--that the Bonn-Warsaw agreement was not in accord with West German Basic Law. In our legal doctrine the constitutional tribunal as an institution began to be generally accepted already in the 1960s. But the basic change in attitude toward that institution dates from March 1981 when the 12th Congress of the Democratic Party suggested establishing the tribunal. It received support in a resolution of the PZPR's Ninth Congress and leaders of the United Peasants' Party. In this way the path was cleared for the realization of this idea.

[Question] As a result of resolutions by party leaders, scholars proceeded to work. Let us lift the veil that usually surrounds the work of experts and tell who worked on the committee.

[Answer] In October 1981 it was decided, during deliberations of the Political Party Central Compromise Committee, to begin work on the Democratic Party proposal which included, in addition to the constitutional tribunal, the creation of a Tribunal of State and the establishment of the office of president of the PRL. The Central Compromise Committee appointed an inter-party committee of experts. Each parliamentary group appointed to it two members of its party, scholars from outside the body of Sejm members. The PZPR's parliamentary group appointed to the committee of experts professor Andrzej Burda from Marie Curie-Sklodowska University [MCSU] in Lublin and Dr. Leszek Kubicki, managing editor of "Panstwo i Prawo" [The State and the Law]. The Democratic Party named professors Jerzy Jodlowski and Arnold Gubinski and the United Peasants' Party appointed two Lublin scholars from MCSU, professor Henryk Groszyk and me. Also on the committee of experts was Dr. Andrzej Gwizdz, no party affiliation, director of the Sejm library and a specialist on national law, who acted as secretary of our committee and liaison to the Sejm Chancellery.

[Question] What was the nature of the work of the committee of experts; from what did you begin your activity?

[Answer] We met in our first working session on 26 November 1981. Two weeks later martial law was declared. We interrupted our work but briefly. We begin it again after Wojciech Jaruzelski's platform speech in the Sejm on 26 January 1982. The premier spoke at that time about, among other things, the need for establishing the constitutional and state tribunals. At two consecutive meetings of the committee of experts we worked out a draft that introduced essential changes in the constitution. As we know on 26 March 1982 the Sejm amended the constitution, introducing into Chapter IV, which up to now had dealt with the Supreme Chamber of Control, two new institutions--the Constitutional Tribunal and the Tribunal of State. In this way, in Chapter IV of the Constitution, dealing with the Constitutional Tribunal, the Tribunal of State and the Supreme Chamber of Control, institutional, constitutional guarantees, guarantees of law, were established.

[Question] The Sejm at that time also enacted legislation on the Tribunal of State. Yet we waited a full three years for the Constitutional Tribunal. Did the experts have trouble coordinating their opinions?

[Answer] The experts were already prepared by the end of 1982. We divided the work on the committee. The proposals of the report on the draft of the Tribunal of State were prepared by professor Gubinski and Dr. Gwizdz. The Constitutional Tribunal is--if I may phrase it this way--the child of Dr. Gwizdz, professor Groszyk and me. And we completed the job with the adoption of the proposals of professors Jodlowski and Burda dealing with the office of the president of the PRL. Our report on the Constitutional Tribunal had a descriptive basis wherein we presented the positive aspects of establishing that institutional and a prototype of a bill. I would like to emphasize that our proposals were not binding on the Sejm, but because the basis of the Sejm's work on the draft of a law on the Constitutional Tribunal and in part were included in it.

[Question] In what part?

[Answer] I will answer that question by pointing out the legal solutions we proposed that were not included in the bill on the Constitutional Tribunal presented in the Sejm on 14 March of this year. We proposed that the scope of the Constitutional Tribunal would include international agreements, ratified and unratified. In the parliamentary bill there is no such entry, perhaps rightly, because that would undermine Poland's credibility as a partner in international relations. Also not included in the parliamentary bill was our supposition that so-called *actio popularis* would be binding; that is, that every citizen, regardless of whether he had his own legal interest in deciding the fate of a given regulation would have the right to approach the Constitutional Tribunal with evidence of instances of non-conformity of regulations to the constitution or statute.

[Question] But wouldn't the introduction of *actio popularis* lead to a flood of the Constitutional Tribunal by citizen complaints; wouldn't this be open season for indigenous litigants? There are such misgivings.

[Answer] Of course that is a possible danger, but to avoid it we proposed the establishment of the institution of advocate in the public interest who would make a preliminary selection of complaints submitted by citizens. Going back to the draft, we also proposed that Sejm members would be among those having the right to appear before the Constitutional Tribunal with an action to initiate proceedings. In the parliamentary bill the Sejm presidium and committees have that right. We also noted in our proposals that the tribunal should consist of 15 members, with five members alternating every three years. The Sejm bill has 12 judges with six alternating every four years. In the end this is not that significant although it would be better if the number of judges were uneven, since this is important in voting. In addition to grievances before the tribunal, the draft anticipates an institution of legal inquiries similar to those the provincial courts can direct to the Supreme Court. We proposed that besides the first president of the Supreme Court, the president of the NSA, the president of the Supreme Arbitration Committee and chief and central national bodies, the provincial courts would have that right. This is not included in the bill.

[Question] So generally how do you assess the Sejm bill

[Answer] We continue to meet with Deputy Edward Szymanski, the overseer of the project, and we are discussing adopted resolutions. We have called attention to two important, in our opinion, faults in the Sejm bill. There are two time limitations. Article 34 of Statute 1 of the bill anticipates that only standardized statutes enacted after 26 March 1982, e.g., after the date of the introduction into the constitution of Article 33a on the Constitutional Tribunal, will be subject to verification by the Constitutional Tribunal. On the committee of experts, we stand unanimously on our position that all legal instruments binding in our country should be included under the control of the Constitutional Tribunal. Otherwise, naturally, laws before 26 March 1982 escape the verification of their conformity to the constitution. The second time limit contained in Article 21 of the bill indicates that after five years of a law's being in force, the tribunal will be unable to rescind it, but may only signal the Sejm and other legislative bodies that a possible infringement has been discovered. That is too short a period; it must be extended to 10 years. There are other minor faults.

[Question] Let's talk about them.

[Answer] For example, nothing is mentioned in the bill about control by the tribunal over conformity to the constitution of Sejm resolutions, standard resolutions of course. Can they be overlooked? Another matter: The bill anticipates that in the event of a tribunal statement questioning the conformity of a given statute to the constitution, the final opinion in the matter rests with the Sejm. This is the most civilized solution in contemporary law because parliament is to decide whether or not a statute it previously enacted itself is in agreement with the constitution, but here the superior role of the Sejm in our country emerges. Moreover, the bill extends these superior powers of the Sejm to decrees as well and this is contrary to Article 33a, Statute 2 of the constitution, which speaks to laws, not decrees. Other minor faults of the bill: In Article 5 the phrase "principles of the

legal system of the PRL" is used, when what is meant is the principles of the governmental structure of the PRL. The bill constantly states that the tribunal "rules on the conformity" of laws to the constitution, when the tribunal will actually ascertain the non-conformity of laws with the constitution. We also called attention to the entry whereby motions for legal inquiry directed to the tribunal would be decided by one judge in closed session. This solution is dangerous because there will be issues that may surpass the capabilities and qualifications of one person.

[Question] You have enumerated several minuses; are there any pluses in the bill?

[Answer] The bill is a compromise between needs and possibilities. On the whole, an original, Polish model of the constitutional tribunal is emerging from it. The greatest positive point of the bill is that it exists, that there will be a Constitutional Tribunal, an institution that is greatly needed in our country.

[Question] There is a preventive and at the same time corrective nature apparent in the bill on the tribunal. The very fact of its existence will undoubtedly compel our lawmakers to more insightful legislative work. Lately we hear accusations more often about the quality of enacted laws.

[Answer] We have been observing a certain legislative fever and this does not make for quality in enacted laws. Every new law should be prepared precisely, with much care. Otherwise there is the possibility--I am thinking here above all about decrees or orders by also about statutes of a higher order--that the enacted law will inspire doubts as to the purposefulness and legality of the legal solutions contained in it. I think therefore that thanks to the establishment of the Constitutional Tribunal the state of the law, which truly has been criticized in recent years, should be improved. Yet we must be aware that no institution, including the Constitutional Tribunal, is a miraculous solution that immediately eliminates all deficiencies. For in the final analysis, the people decide about everything.

[Question] Professor Adam Lopatka, in an extraordinary session of the Sejm called to consider the bill on the Constitutional Tribunal, said that in this matter we have "only our own imagination and the experience of someone else." What is that "experience of someone else?"

[Answer] Among socialist countries, only Yugoslavia has a constitutional tribunal. It is a tribunal that operates in practice, at the federal level as well as in individual republics. In Czechoslovakia the constitution foresees the existence of such a tribunal but it is a dead law, not in force to this day. In Hungary there is a constitutional committee that provides opinions for parliament's use but has no right of authority or decision. That is the experience of socialist countries to that extent. In the West on the other hand two systems of certifying conformity of laws to constitutions are in use. There is the European system of constitutional tribunals or constitutional courts that verify laws and other legal instruments and have the right to rescind them without requesting parliament's approval. And there is the American system based on carrying on incidental verification through the

common courts. In the US, if a court in hearing a case finds that a given law is not in agreement with the constitution and establishes unconstitutionality, the court can refuse to apply the given law or statute in a particular instance. But the court does not have the right to rescind an unconstitutional law or statute.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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POLAND

# NAVAL SHIPYARD, MARINE ENGINEERING DESIGN FIRM COOPERATION

Gdansk BUDOWNICTWO OKRETOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 85 pp 267-268

[Article by Engineer Henryk Ptak: "Multiyear Cooperation Between the Naval Shipyard and the Design and Technology Enterprise for Marine Engineering"]

[Text] In its postwar history, the Dabrowszaks Naval Shipyard was and continues to be a production and overhaul facility whose primary tasks are overhauling and modernizing floating objects. In addition to its primary tasks, the Naval Shipyard also produced new objects, primarily small floating units designed for various purposes. The shipyard's own design and construction facilities provide, above all, essential services in the areas of modernization and overhaul work but provide very little in the way of documentation to build new units.

Starting with the period after World War II and up to the 1970's, the shipyard's production was based in practice on documentation obtained from outside design offices. Most of the floating units built by the Naval Shipyard were based on designs of the Prorem PPTKM [Design and Technology Enterprise for Marine Engineering], which came into being in 1955 under the name Marine Designing Office. The first unit built at the Naval Shipyard based on Prorem documentation was a hydrographic cutter called ELA. This cutter, which was a 100-percent welded design with a split hull, already satisfied all the technical and construction requirements for a welded hull.

A prototype of this cutter was placed into operation in 1959 and was an exceptionally successful unit having superior marine properties. It was equipped with deck hoist equipment to deploy buoys and with a 150-hp high-pressure propulsion engine. It met all the design requirements and was fully approved by the ship's owner, the Gdynia Maritime Office.

As a result of the hydrographic cutter's successful hull design, its good marine characteristics and its ease and simplicity of maintenance, various other units were built based on it of which the following deserve special mention:

-- Tow boats equipped with high-pressure engines and adjustable screws (one such type tow boat, the Jarek, is still operating at the Naval Shipyard);

-- The MIK-150 Inspection Motorboats are units that have an extended superstructure and room for a crew of three and 12 inspectors. They are used to inspect port waters and shore areas.

The next Prorem design that was praised highly was the design of the floating KG-2.5 deep-scooping excavator that was designed to excavate gravel from deposits in water reservoirs (rivers, lakes, bays). This excavator has a hull consisting of four pontoons connected with screws and can be transported via rail or road. The equipment to produce gravel is produced in Poland, and only an insignificant part of the miniaturized electrical fixtures (mini-switches) is imported. These excavators have been produced since the mid-1960's for domestic users and for export. Currently 74 floating deep-scooping excavators are under construction, which, on the one hand, is proof of the unit's good design and construction and, on the other hand, its usefulness to the construction materials industry.

Basically specializing in designing floating objects having steel hulls, Prorem designed two type M-150 and M-200 motorboats for the Naval Shipyard that had polyester-glass laminate hulls. The M-150 motorboat hull was very successful. In hindsight, it is to be regretted that Prorem did not continue its work on designing units with polyester-glass laminate hulls.

Prorem has designed excellent auxiliary and engineering units, especially with respect to tow boats and floating docks. Prorem's 1970 designs are an example of this, especially the design of the H-2500 tow boat and the R-30 rescue cutter. The H-2500 was ordered by the Association of Seaports as a tow boat to serve Port Polnocny. Based on Prorem documentation, during the 1974-1981 period the Naval Shipyard built 10 H-2500 tow boats for the Administrations of the Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin Ports. It was the largest tow boat designed and built in Poland in the 1970's.

It should be remembered that in building this series of tow boats, the share of direct imports diminished systematically. Assuming, in building the first tow boat, that the share of imports from the II payments area amounted to 100 percent, then for the final units of this series this share diminished to about 40 percent. The next series of these two boats, which was to go into production in 1980, is practically independent of imports.

The H-2500 series of tow boats in operation, especially those in the Gdansk Port basin and in the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port complex, also turned out to be very reliable and useful under shore icing conditions.

The universal R-30 rescue cutter was the last unit built by the Naval Shipyard on the basis of Prorem documentation. This cutter is designed for port and sea tow boat work, hydrographic work, fire-fighting work and under water engineering rescue work, including welding work.

The assembly and functional location of different engineering functions on such a small craft is an example of the many year's of professional experience of the design team, their engineering knowledge and individual involvement.

Presently, a 8000-ton dock that was designed by Prorem and whose hull was built by the Paris Commune Shipyard, is being equipped. This dock will be used by the Naval Shipyard.

In presenting, of necessity, only those Prorem designs realized by the Naval Shipyard that are associated to a great extent with their production, such as the hydrographic cutters and seep-scooping excavators, as well as with their excellent engineering, for example, the H-2500 tow boat and R-30 cutter, it should be emphasized that every successful design was the creation of many individuals and design teams executing the designs and managing their realization.

On the occasion of Prorem's 30th anniversary, the Naval Shipyard wishes to acknowledge Prorem's excellent design and construction work, as witnessed by the designs realized by the Naval Shipyard, the mutual relationships and the understanding of the needs of the enterprises and people realizing specific projects. The management and workers of both enterprises created a good climate for mutual cooperation. We wish to thank and acknowledge those people who have done good work and contributed to this climate, especially General Designer Magister Engineer Boleslaw Grzybowski, Chief Designer Magister Engineer Wladyslaw Dziekonski, Magister Engineer Zdzislaw Mazurkiewicz, Magister Engineer Bogdan Szkonter, Magister Engineer Henryk Wozniak and Magister Engineer Jerzy Zychow.

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CSO; 2600/990

POLAND

COMMISSION STUDIES IMPEDIMENTS TO SCIENCE, INDUSTRY COOPERATION

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 27 Jun 85 pp 1,2

[Text] Today when economic reform is becoming a fact, when it is already well known that without seeking our own indigenous technical, technological and organizations solutions there can be no discussion of speeding up or modernizing production, it might seem that the need for close, many-sided cooperation between science and industry would be clear to industrial managers and educational institutions. Yesterday's conference of the Commission on Scientific and Economic Cooperation working with the PZPR's Krakow Committee confirmed once again how much effort is necessary for the cooperation between science and industry to begin at last to bring meaningful results.

For several months I have been following with much interest the commission's work, directed by Zygmunt Drzymala, renowned scholar, professor at the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy and party member, with ever greater respect for the persistence of a group of a few score people who have taken at their goal an issue that could be called "why not." Why do so many industrial managers believe that the mechanisms of reform do not promote but rather hinder new initiatives and use of the service of scientists. Why in Krakow province last year was barely 79 percent spent from a rather small fund for technical development in the work place? Why do Krakow's technical schools and educational institutions receive the majority of their orders from industry from other areas of the country, while Krakow's industries look elsewhere for help with their problems? Krakow is the second largest scientific center in Poland--two technical schools, 17 departmental institutions, two central laboratories, an academic apparatus whose value is 9,500 zloties for one academic worker. This is an enormous but inadequately exploited wealth of human knowledge and systematic efficiency. A wealth which properly used can rapidly bring results measurable not only in zloties; it can mean simply that people will live better.

Zygmunt Nowakowski, first secretary of the PZPR's College Committee of the Krakow Polytechnic, who also reported on these problems yesterday, and others participating in the discussion emphasized the need by party academic and industrial committees to keep close track of the process of "fixing" the contacts between science and industry. This "fixing" will not begin to operate like a suction pump; it must be initiated, protected, must preserve party contacts among organizations, keep track of personnel policy and

counteract often irrational salary practices. The director of "Igloopol," Professor Kazimierz Kotwica, presented concrete examples of the effectiveness of just such contacts and cooperation in the self-represented undertaking at the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy. That school exhibits the most activity in forming research tenders to industry.

The conclusions presented during the commission's conference yesterday will be sent to the secretariat of the PZPR's Coordinating Committee and central authorities. Among them is the notion of establishing a fund in Krakow to support research and initiatives, to introduce a new system of inquiry that will record the results of science and industry cooperation and above all to better specify the tasks facing science in the coming five year plan. For it must properly prepare its personnel, define investment needs and enter into the working program of the Warsaw Pact countries.

All this is before us. For now... for now science still has too few orders, industry knows little or nothing of how to seek help in higher schools and institutes while directors pray that the plants they manage will do no better or worse but "more or less average." Then there is blessed, longed-for peace.

12776

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POLAND

## COURT RULINGS SPUR COMMENTARY, REACTION

### Harsh Sentences Deter Crime, Court Says

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by (eko), "Summary Proceedings: Harsh Sentences Act as Deterrent"]

[Text] According to the General Prosecutor's Office, during the first month since the introduction of the law on special criminal procedure, 2,648 people were charged in summary proceedings. Between 1 and 31 July, the courts dealt in this manner with 2,202 offenders, finding 2,110 of them guilty, and just 48 not guilty.

In just 2 days, on 31 July and 1 August, the Warsaw region courts dealt summarily with not less than 28 cases. Among others, J. Rybak, who had broken into a store and had been caught in flagrante delicto, was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment, 20,000 zlotys fine, publication of his sentence, and forfeiture of all his assets. A. Zoltak was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment, 100,000 zlotys fine, and publication of her sentence, for having house-brewed, without the necessary license, at least 1 liter of alcohol. For illegal brewing of alcohol in a hand-made still, J. Kowalczyk was also sentenced to 6 months imprisonment, 50,000 zlotys fine, and publication of his sentence.

R. Trzoch and K. Badalski, who on 30 July had attempted burglary, breaking into a shanty and had been caught in flagrante delicto, were both sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, a fine of 50,000 zlotys, forfeiture of assets, and publication of their sentences.

### Mild Sentence Aggravates Turmoil, Fear

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Aug 85 p 5

[PAP item, "According to the Minister of Justice: Legally Valid Sentencing of a Burglar Too Mild"]

[Text] The minister of Justice claimed blatant mildness of punishment in an already legally valid sentence, passed by the Kielce Provincial Court against a perpetrator of 2 burglaries; he asked the Supreme Court for extraordinary revision of the sentence. Closer details of the case follow.

A district court in Kielce sentenced Stanisla Nowak, charged with 2 burglaries. The victim of his first break-in were tenants of a privately-owned house, where the burglar took furs, clothes, jewelry, and other items worth some 700,000 slotys. It came out that one week earlier the same perpetrator had broken into a production room and warehouse belonging to a Kielce construction works, and had stolen glazed tiles worth over 48,000 zlotys. He committed both crimes shortly after having served a 4-year imprisonment sentence for robbery.

This time the court of first instance passed a joint sentence of 5 years' imprisonment and a fine of 50,000 zlotys. In addition, the inveterate burglar was to be put on probation for 5 more years. The sentence was appealed by his lawyers, but the Kielce Provincial Court confirmed it.

According to the minister of Justice, the material evidence of the case and the defendant's guilt were beyond question, but the sentence passed on this burglar, a habitual offender, was hard to accept. The defendant had an extremely bad reputation in his place of residence, and abused alcohol. Longer isolation in a correctional facility would therefore become necessary, since the previously applied punishment had brought no socially desirable effects.

The frequency of robberies and burglaries all over the country has turned into a large-scale social phenomenon which provokes justified fear, produces among the citizenry a sense of danger to their property, and creates an impression of helplessness of the law-enforcement and judiciary apparatus. The courts should therefore energetically counteract this form of criminal behavior.

The minister demanded a stiffer sentence against Stanislaw Nowak for both burglaries, and therefore a joint punishment of 8 years' imprisonment and a fine of 100,000 zlotys. He also decided that the publication of the sentence would serve educational purposes.

12485

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POLAND

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION STATISTICS PRESENTED

Warsaw WIADOMOSCI STATYSTYCZNE in Polish No 5, May 85 pp 39-40

[Article by M. Litmanowicz: "Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages"]

[Text] The Department of Interior Commerce and Communal Economy at the GUS [Main Office of Statistics] issued in September 1984 a publication titled "Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages During the Years 1970-1983," which sheds statistical light on the following questions: consumption of alcoholic beverages, sales, consumer expenditures on alcoholic beverages, prices and sales outlets. In addition, the extent of the consumption of alcoholic beverages in Poland is compared with that in other countries.

This publication presents for the first time the extent of unrecorded consumption. (Unrecorded consumption refers to the consumption of alcohol and its processed products deriving from illegal sources as well as of home-brewed wine and beer. Illegal sources are construed as unpermitted production of alcohol, the acquisition of stolen alcoholic beverages and portions of stolen alcoholic beverages as well as of portions of beverages classified as wastes and losses of industrial enterprises--e.g., due to breakage of containers during their transportation, storage, etc.)

Unrecorded consumption of alcoholic beverages in 1983 was equivalent to 15-22 percent of recorded consumption; of this amount, the unrecorded consumption of vodkas was equivalent to 20-30 percent of their recorded consumption. This estimate was derived from the coefficient of alcoholic psychoses, inasmuch as a close correlation was established between the number of persons with alcoholic psychoses who were admitted for the first time to hospitals and the level of the consumption of alcoholic beverages: the direct correlation coefficient for these two quantities is 0.97. The pertinent statistics are presented on pp 24-27 of the aforementioned publication of the GUS.



The table below provides selected statistics on the problem of the consumption of alcoholic beverages during the years 1980-1983.

Table: Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages

Item	1980	1981	1982	1983
Disposable personal income (1980 = 100)	X	128.4	214.0	265.5
Total consumer expenditures on the purchase of alcoholic beverages, in billions of zlotys	183.5	189.8	396.7	558.9
1980 = 100	X	103.4	216.2	304.6
per capita, in 1000 zlotys	5.2	5.3	11.0	15.2
Share of expenditures on alcoholic beverages in total consumer expenditures, percentage	15.2	13.3	15.9	17.2
Retail price index of alcoholic beverages, 1980 = 100	X	152.1	289.8	415.6
Recorded per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages, in liters, total, in terms of 100-proof alcohol	8.4	6.4	6.1	6.2
Regular and quality vodkas in terms of 40-proof alcohol	14.8	10.8	10.5	10.2
Wines and meads	10.1	7.5	6.3	7.8
Beer	30.4	28.6	28.6	27.5
Total per capita (registered plus un-registered) consumption of alcoholic beverages:				
In terms of 100-proof alcohol	8.9-9.3			7.2-7.6
Of which: vodkas in terms of 40-proof alcohol	12.0-12.8			12.3-13.5
Sales of alcoholic beverages for foreign currencies:				
In millions of US\$	107.2	102.4	110.9	77.2
In percent of aggregate sales of goods for foreign currencies	22.4	29.7	29.6	20.2

Source: The GUS publication discussed here.

What changes have occurred in 1984 compared with 1983? The discussion below will enlarge upon the information provided in the aforementioned GUS publication.

In 1984, 142 million liters of regular and quality vodkas in terms of 100-proof alcohol were released for the consumer goods market, which means an increase of about 4 million liters of 100-proof, i.e., 3 percent in supplies, compared with 1983. The supplies of quality vodkas remained at the same level as in 1983, so that the regular vodkas accounted for the entire increment in vodka supplies. Thus the share of quality vodkas decreased and the share of regular vodkas increased, in the overall supplies of high-proof spirits. In retail trade an increase in the inventories of quality vodkas was recorded.

The supplies of wines and meads for the market were at the level of 307 million liters, i.e., they increased by 24 million liters or by 8 percent compared with the supplies in 1983.

The level of beer supply in 1984 was somewhat lower than in 1983, amounting to 976 million liters, which means a decline of 26 million liters or 7 percent.

Retail sales of alcoholic beverages in 1984 amounted to 616 billion zlotys and were 57 million [as published] or 10 percent higher than in 1983, in terms of current retail prices. The share of retail sales of alcoholic beverages in their overall sales by units of the socialized economy in 1984 was 15 percent or 1 point lower than in 1983.

In 1984, compared with 1983, the share of the sales of alcoholic beverages in gastronomic establishments decreased, while the share of their sales by retail trade increased, in relation to the overall volume of sales of these beverages.

The sales of alcoholic beverages for foreign currencies in 1984 reached the level of US\$83 million and were US\$6 million, i.e., 8 percent higher than in 1983.

The recorded per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages in 1984 was as follows:

	<u>in liters</u>
Alcoholic beverages in terms of 100-proof alcohol	6.3
Regular and quality vodkas in terms of alcohol:	
100 proof	4.2
40 proof	10.5
Wines and meads	8.3
Beer	26.6

Compared with 1983, the changes in 1984 were generally minor. But were they favorable?

The share of the sales of alcoholic beverages at gastronomic establishments in the overall volume of the sales of these beverages in 1984 continued to decline. The sales of alcoholic beverages for foreign currencies increased but did not attain the peak sales level of 1982 (US\$110 million during the vodka rationing period).

The per capita consumption of high-proof beverages increased by 0.3 liter, in terms of 40-proof alcohol, while beer consumption decreased. Thus, a slight but unfavorable change in the structure of consumption occurred: the share of vodkas in the total consumption of alcoholic beverages rose to 66.6 percent in 1984 from 66.3 percent in 1983 (structure derived from statistics in terms of 100-proof alcohol). The share of quality vodkas in the total consumption of vodkas decreased. As regards unrecorded consumption, we still lack data that could provide a basis for an estimate. It is believed that the level of the unrecorded consumption of alcoholic beverages in 1984 was the same as in 1983. Based on this assumption, it is estimated that the overall per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages in 1984 was as follows:

	<u>in liters</u>
Overall per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages in terms of 100-proof alcohol	7.1-7.6
Regular and quality vodkas in terms of 40-proof alcohol	12.5-13.5
Wines and meads	8.8-9.3
Beer	26.6

What is the picture of the consumption of alcoholic beverages in Poland when compared with other countries?

The level of the overall per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages in Poland is lower than in many other countries, but they are countries in which the consumption of wine or beer predominates, whereas in Poland it is the consumption of regular and quality vodkas that predominates. Thus, in France in 1984 the per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages was 14.8 liters in terms of 100-proof alcohol, but this included more than 95 liters of wine. In Spain the per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages was 14.1 liters and in Italy 13.0 liters in terms of 100-proof alcohol, but in both these countries wine predominates in the consumption of alcoholic beverages and moreover part of these beverages was drunk by the numerous tourists visiting these countries. In the FRG the per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages was 12.7 liters in terms of 100-proof alcohol, but this included about 145 liters of beer.

On the other hand, it is in Poland that the level of the consumption of regular and quality vodkas is the highest. The figures below on the per capita consumption of these high-proof spirits pertain to 1980 (in terms of 100-proof alcohol).

	<u>in liters</u>
Poland	6.3-6.7
Hungary	4.3
GDR	3.8
Canada	3.4
Czechoslovakia	3.3
United States	3.1

The level of the consumption of wine and beer in Poland is relatively low compared with other countries.

1386

CSO: 2600/959

POLAND

## INEPTITUDES, INEFFICIENCIES FEATURED IN PRESS

### Fruit Rots Due to Lack of Canning Jars

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10-11 Aug 85 p 8

[Text] In an article published by ODRODZENIE, "Does It Have to Rot?", Grazyna Wroblewska writes, inter alia:

"Tin sheet for canning jars, lids, and caps is virtually lacking. Tomatoes, peas, and plums keep maturing. Some of them will rot. They must rot (...) Things have gone so bad that major processing plants in Midejow and Rzeszow stopped their machines as early as in July, that is to say, at the very beginning of the processing season, because they had used up all their stocks of canning jars and lids.

According to unanimous estimates by producers and farmers alike, last year at least 30 percent of fruit and vegetables were wasted halfway between the field and the dinner table, because, inter alia, there were shortages of tins, jars, or straw to cover clamps. I quote those last year's losses for a very good reason. They are not going to be reduced this year. Virtually nothing has changed for the better, neither in our storage infrastructure, nor in the processing industry (...)

While it is true that at present we cannot afford to reconstruct our processing industry, the green light for agriculture should have set in motion at least such funds which might let us salvage whatever had already ripened."

### New Rules Prevent Housing Exchange

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10-11 Aug 85 p 8

[Text] Referring to the new real-estate tax regulations, Stanislaw Harasimyk writes in an article "Blindbuff with the Treasury" in ZYGODNIK KULTURALNY, quoting, inter alia, the following story:

"An old couple came to the housing exchange office in Lublin, to offer their vast apartment, nearly 90 square meters, for exchange against a smaller one. They did not demand anything more. The broker easily found partners willing to change (...) Unfortunately, a new law had been passed before the transaction got finalized.

Following the regulations, the contracting parties reported to the tax office, which lost no time and quickly assessed the fees. It found out that the old couple of lowly retirees, willing to move from their spacious apartment (publicly owned) to a smaller one of their own, had to pay not less than 800,000 zlotys. That is to say, they would have, for the next 8 years, spend all of their old-age pensions just to pay the tax, without saving even a penny for milk and bread.

Unfortunately, taxes are not paid in monthly installments over many years: they have to be coughed up on the spot. Besides, the lonely old couple could not be sure they will live long enough to pay it all up... So they gave up. The two of them stayed in their large apartment, while another family with 3 kids continues to rough it in their cubicles."

#### Workers 'Allergic' to Difficulties

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Aug 85 p 3

[Text] Jan Bilos, in an article "Allergy" writes in GAZETA POZNANSKA 27-28 July:

"My frequent visits to workplaces have more than convinced me that expressions, the most disliked by workers, include the famous 'objective difficulties.' Some people react to them allergically, simply denying reason to resort to them in order to excuse anything at all. In one plant I heard recently that its manager, who had indeed good reasons to put the blame on objective difficulties, was rudely vilified by his subordinates. People no longer want to hear that nothing can be done; they want instead to know how difficulties can be prevented. Only such a mode of thinking can inculcate a sense of real prospects for growth, which nowadays has become a precondition for all the debates, not just about the material conditions."

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CSO: 2600/1028

POLAND

NEW SOVIET YOUTH MONTHLY ON MARKET

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by (mi), "YOUTH--New Soviet Monthly for the Domestic Market"]

[Text] There is a novelty on our domestic media market: a Soviet monthly YOUTH, published in Polish by the NOVOSTI Press Agency. According to the editorial in its first issue, YOUTH, a richly illustrated magazine, aims at acquainting Polish readers, young people in particular, with the life of young people in the Soviet Union.

The articles published in the first issues of YOUTH deal with a great variety of subjects. The reader will find there, among other articles, those devoted to the recently held 12th World Festival of Young People and Students in Moscow, and interviews with participants in earlier festivals. Singer Alla Pugachova, also well-known in Poland, tells about her career. There is an interesting report on firefighters who put down crude fires in oil wells.

YOUTH also presents young people who build their own housing blocks, young married couples, judo-training girls, the BAM [Balkai-Amur Mainline], and Vladimir Vysotskiy. It brings interesting interviews as well, among them with Vyacheslav Kotyonochnik, director of a TV serial about the Wolf and the Hare, laureate of the "Smile Medal." A standard feature of YOUTH are new adventures of the permanently warring protagonists of children films, well known and popular in Poland as well.

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POLAND

S&T PUBLISHER NOTES SHORTAGES, EFFORTS TO OVERCOME PRODUCTION WOES

Katowice HUTNIK in Polish No 6, Jun 85, p 223

[A letter from the publisher: "Dear Readers"]

[Text] In connection with the numerous questions regarding the failure to publish on schedule the successive issues of our publications, we beg to advise all concerned readers that in most cases the delays have been due to difficulties of a technical nature, chiefly shortages of paper and printing inks of suitable quality, irregular deliveries of these materials and the high breakdown rate of printing machinery.

This year, in connection with a 20 percent reduction in the allocation of paper to our publishing house, we have had to publish issues of a reduced size, as well as composite issues, and in some cases we also have had to restrict their printing. The situation that has befallen the entire technical press markedly complicates the implementation of the measures it is taking to apply the economic reform and promote social activism and innovative actions among engineers and technicians. The role and importance of technical periodicals are demonstrated by the fact of the steady growth in their subscribers and circulation. For example, in 1985 that growth has amounted to 15 percent.

Viewing the publication and development of technical periodicals as the principal purpose of our editorial activities and the activities of the Supreme Technical Organization in behalf of the engineering community, we are endeavoring and shall continue to endeavor to carry out the obligations we assumed. As regards assuring the allocation of a sufficient amount of paper for the publication of technical periodicals in unaltered form and size and in accordance with the subscription orders we receive, we have contacted the Ministry of Culture and Art as well as the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers. Our attempts so far have not, however, produced the results we had hoped for. Further negotiations are continuing.

In view of the poor status of the printing industry in this country, the Supreme Technical Organization and the NOT SIGMA Publishing House commenced 2 years ago the construction of a printing plant. This printing plant of our own will be put into operation in 1986 and make it possible to publish limited-circulation specialized subsector periodicals on schedule and at a



better editorial level. In our daily endeavors we meet with understanding and assistance from many enterprises and associations which have shared with this publishing house their own paper or foreign exchange for acquiring paper abroad. We are using this forum to express our thanks to all our supporters.

We offer our humble apologies to the readers, authors and associates of our periodicals for the existing situation which complicates the use of the technical press.

1386

CSO: 2600/959

POLAND

BRIEFS

POPE SENDS HOSPITAL GIFT--The joint provincial hospital in Wloclawek has received modern diagnostic equipment for so-called non-invasive exploration of certain internal organs, including the pancreas, liver and kidneys. It is a Sonoline SL ultrasonograph produced by the Siemens company valued at \$30,000. The equipment is a gift from John Paul II to the Wloclawek Health Service. Ordinary Bishop Jan Zareba presented the costly equipment to Dr. Adam Zmykiewicz, hospital director, on behalf of the pope. The ultrasonograph will be installed in the nuclear medicine department of the provincial hospital. It is anticipated that in the near future it will be supplemented by several accessories that will permit examination of other internal organs. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 July 85 p 1] 12776

CHURCH MINISTRY TO FARMERS CRITICIZED--"The church-financed ministry to farmers, whose current activity particularly violates the basic principle of separation of religious affairs and activity from politics is essentially a screen for political activity by anti-socialist forces." From a report of the Chief Committee of the United Peasants' Party presented by Kazimierz Kozuba at the Fifth Plenary Session. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 24, 16 Jun 85 p 4] 12776

CATHOLIC EDITORS ARRESTED--The regular meeting of a group of editors of leading Catholic publications took place on 24 June at the seat of the secretariat of the Polish Episcopate. The meeting was conducted by Bishop Ignacy Jez, chairman of the Polish Episcopate's Committee on Means for Social Legacy. Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski offered information on the 207th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate. Rev. Alojzy Orszulik spoke on the state of work connected with efforts to begin activity by the Agricultural Foundation. Editor Slawomir Siwek told the editors about the progress of a session of the Press Council called by the president of the PRL's Council of Ministers. During discussion on current problems of the Catholic press, those attending expressed concern about the situation existing at the POSLANIEC WARMINSKI office. The editors of that diocesan magazine, including the legal advisor of the Olsztyn Curia, were arrested on charges of a political nature. They are currently free but the case has still not been resolved. Also discussed were many complaints and concerns annoying our publications. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 28, 14 Jul 85 p 4] 12776

SOVIET REMARKS ON DEFENSE COOPERATION--The Soviet Chekists fight against subversive enemy activities in close links with the security organs of states-members of the Socialist community... Following proper agreements, contacts between security organs of our fraternal countries are being enhanced, and the forms of cooperation in fighting the class enemy are being improved. [Excerpts from an article by V. Chubrikov, head of USSR State Security] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Aug 85 p 5] 12485

YUGOSLAVIA

POLITICAL TRAINING FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL DESCRIBED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 85 pp 3-5

[Article by Lt Col Gen Metodija Stefanovski, federal undersecretary for national defense: "Political Programs With Young People in the YPA"]

[Text] The new situation which has come about makes it necessary to examine more comprehensively the content and methods of political programs with young people in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army]. This work is complementary to the programs for character development and education conducted before entering the YPA and represents a continuation of them. That is why it is very important to know the level of character development and education of these young men before they enter the YPA as well as the level of their overall development, the maturity of the personality and their general and particular characteristics.

Experience to date in working with these young soldiers in the YPA has been constructive. The immense majority of these young men show a constructive attitude toward the YPA and a willingness to become involved in activities to achieve personal and collective capability of performing the missions assigned them, and most of them achieve exceptional results. Research done in the YPA confirms this. Among the motives which the recruits have in wishing to serve their period of military service the most important is the desire to equip themselves for defending the country (this is stated by 95 percent of the draftees who were surveyed). During training they display a great effort, which is manifested in the results achieved, with which we are very satisfied. Most of the young men show a marked responsibility in equipping themselves for defense, and their overall cultural and educational development is good and is considerably better balanced than in previous generations when draftees belonged to different age groups.

All of this indicates that the conditions for character development and education with 19-year-olds are better than was the case 5 years ago. Yet still we encounter a large number of difficulties and problems today which are arising in work with the present generations of young soldiers. The most frequent problems arise in the process of adaptation to the living and working conditions of military life, in the domain of discipline and mutual relations. Many conclude on this basis that it is more difficult to work with 19-year-olds today and that there are considerably more problems than when the soldiers belonged to different age groups.

## The Young Generation Is Finding Itself

Analyses conducted in the YPA show that such conclusions are unsound. There is something else involved. The problems are usually in the military organization. We have not sufficiently organized and prepared ourselves to work with this population of young people. We have continued to work in the old way which we arrived at several years ago. Today we are living in the age of strong technological and especially military-industrial development, which is making it possible to introduce ever more up-to-date weapons into the armament. The young generations coming of age for the YPA bear the stamp of the more rapid technological and social development of the present time, which helps them to successfully find themselves in equipping themselves in the YPA and in mastering the up-to-date military equipment. That kind of equipment is very attractive and inspiring to young people and it offers a great challenge for proving themselves. This also accounts for a strong motivation in the training of these soldiers.

However, if in our overall development we are to achieve still better results, we have to be considerably faster and more reliable not only in keeping pace with the development of present-day technology, but also with the development of the young generation, and this must be an ongoing task for us. Unless these two factors are studied in the same context and methods and content are found for programs, we will not make any serious inroads in political programs with the present and future generations of young people coming of age for the YPA either.

These requirements presuppose that we master the situation on a daily basis, that we be more up-to-date and thereby more attractive as well. In line with these requirements we must constantly find new content and methods in programs with people. Our programs should at the same time be fresh and very well-thought-out.

It is in this area that our political program and our overall program should bring themselves up-to-date in the present and future. That is why I think that we need to be better organized and more reliable in monitoring and studying the changes taking place in the young generation of our society, in monitoring and studying their attributes, attitudes, habits, value systems, expectations and desires, and at the same time we need to be aware of their advance preparations for competence in the YPA. This is a task on which the YPA should be involved, but also society as a whole. A great contribution could be made here by numerous public institutions and organizations and sociopolitical organizations, especially the LCY and the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia. Certainly, political authorities and all officers have their place here not only in gathering data and analyzing the situation, but also in preparing the particular content of the political-ideological program and other activities in order to create the most favorable conditions for the "entry" of young people into the YPA.

## The Army Is a Kind of School of Life

The political program with young soldiers at the time when they are adapting to army living and working conditions is a separate and very complicated task. Advance preparation of young men through the family, the school, the youth organization and other institutions can contribute considerably to the success of this adaptation. All of these entities are involved in the character development of young people. That is why developing the competence of young people in the YPA should be an integral part of the continuity of programs to develop the character of young people in society at large. Experience has shown that where parents, the social environment, the school, the youth organization and others have done a well-organized and systematic job of preparing recruits for the YPA and seeing them off, there have been fewer or almost no problems in the process of their adaptation.

Experience to date demonstrates that the present generation of 19-year-old soldiers does have a more difficult time with separation from family, friends and comrades than was the case with soldiers in previous generations which included older age groups. Awareness of this has led many officers to the conclusion that 19-year-old soldiers are not mature enough to achieve competence in the YPA and to live and work on their own. Yet in this connection we must be aware of the fact that a man's maturity is a rather relative notion. It should be regarded as a process constantly taking place, not as a state. This process of maturing takes place more rapidly in earlier years and is more dynamic than in later years. Thus the training of 19-year-olds in the YPA will speed up the process of the maturing of their personality. Thus they should be approached and taken not as persons "ready" for the YPA, but as individuals who will develop further and mature through their training. In this way the armed forces will also be a kind of school of life, whose contribution will be very important in the overall development of the personality of a young person in our society.

To achieve this we need to make new efforts in the area of equipping officers for character development and education. In that sense we need to devote greater attention in military schools and in their curricula to equipping officers for political programs and in general for work with people. They have to have the appropriate psychological and pedagogical knowledge up-to-date for the particular thing they do, but also broad enough for them also to understand the future and enrich themselves further in this direction. In that way we would create the conditions for fulfilling the Marxist requirement that those responsible for upbringing must themselves not only have been developed and equipped for the upbringing of young people, but themselves must also keep pace with the requirements of present character development programs. Our schools for present and future officers must realize that this requirement is an imperative of the times and therefore we should reorient ourselves in that direction as soon as possible. The schools must be aware of the requirements of experience, of the forces in the field, and they must enrich their programs with new experiences.

## A Mission That Has Been Well Conceived Gives the Soldier a Motive for Making an Effort

Today's soldiers desire and expect of officers a more direct personal contact with them, more understanding for their needs and problems, more decisiveness and fairness, and for them to display the strength of their personality and personal example in their work. They want more confidence and support, less "unpopular" methods, punishments and the like. The consequence of the lack of that kind of effort and relations is that there are more and more indifferent, withdrawn, uninterested and unmotivated young people in the soldier population, and indeed more even of those who "carry a chip on their shoulder." The political program and character development program should operate preventively against these and many other shortcomings which are having an ever greater impact on the results of overall efforts in the YPA. We have to be aware of the fact that the more sophisticated weapons are imposing higher requirements on the soldiers, and that also presupposes greater responsibility. That is why more direct political programs and the human relations must be more intensive and richer.

We have been intensifying the political program for young people with an awareness of the need to equip oneself in the Yugoslav People's Army for tasks in defense. That is why it is necessary for every task to be explained not only in terms of how it is to be done, but also why it is to be done. The soldier himself makes an appraisal of the expediency of an activity. It is our principal goal that he should understand and accept the tasks and that this would become an integral part of his personality. Only then will the task which has been posed become a motivation for the soldier's effort. The opinion that the soldier should merely carry out orders has long ago been superseded and is incompatible with our relations and conceptions, with the character of the YPA and with our self-managed socialist society. The soldier is a defender and we must regard him as such and develop his character accordingly. Experience shows us that there are no problems at all in work with soldiers when a complicated and difficult task is being performed, such as, say, a tactical exercise with live ammunition, since this task has been well-thought-out, understood and accepted by all the soldiers and officers participating in it. At the same time, the problems are most often recorded in work with the soldiers when we have not been sufficiently prepared and when the tasks have not been explained correctly and sufficiently, when their expediency is not clear or has not been accepted. Even when some task is important, such as a drill involving several repeated performances of some procedure, if its purpose has not been explained, it may be perceived as arbitrariness on the part of the officer who is showing a lack of restraint or is abusing people. This can have a very adverse effect on the behavior and relations in the unit, especially since such cases of abuse are most frequently camouflaged as training or drills. Such actions are incompatible with the nature of our armed forces and we must vigorously oppose this.

Within the framework of this complicated task, it is especially important to enhance the role of military collectives and collective bodies. The point of departure in the political program should be that man is a social creature and as such has a strong need to live and work in the collective. It is in the

collective that he affirms his identity and his personality. That is why it is very important for us to shape the military collective as soon as possible. This is not a simple task and it cannot be accomplished automatically. Collectives develop through certain processes of social relations and over a certain time. It is our task through the political program to create the conditions for these social processes to take place in units which are by their character socialist and respectful of human worth and dignity. It is true that one of these conditions is the physical shaping of the unit which is to develop into the collective, but that is not enough. The young man, the soldier, does not want to be merely a number or element in that group, but he wants to show himself as an entity in his own right, to have his own place and role, to be accepted and loved and himself to establish close emotional ties with all members of the collective. He wants to confirm himself in that collective, to have support even when he fails [original reads "succeeds"], as well as understanding when he wants to correct his failures or mistakes. Social conditions like that should be created in our units, and then we will not have cases of isolated soldiers, of absences from the unit without leave, of dissatisfaction and of perception of time in the YPA as a particular burden. The soldiers have said in surveys that the hardest thing for them is separation from their parents, friends and comrades, and that is also in large part because military collectives have not developed sufficiently, nor are they strong or homogeneous enough so that the young men could satisfy all their social needs which they long for and whose satisfaction lies outside the garrison and outside the armed forces.

#### The Strong Role of the Military Collective

The military collective figures as an important entity in political work and character development. A soldier who has strongly identified himself with the military collective tries to behave and act according to the requirements of that collective, since the collective expects this of him. Herein lies the strength of collective bodies and of their role in leadership in the military organization. The stronger the individual's identification with collective bodies, the greater the strength they have in influencing the individuals. As soon as the collective body is perceived as "alien," something belonging to the commanding officer or something working for and in the name of someone else, that body loses prestige, its influence has no strength, and as a practical matter it no longer has a purpose. Officers should be especially aware of this when they are involved in the political effort to develop military collectives and to operate within it.

These are just some of the very important elements in the political program with young soldiers, with 19-year-olds in the YPA. There are no rules nor patterns set down once and for all in this area. This effort must undergo constant development just as they themselves are involved in a kind of development.

7045

CSO: 2800/429

YUGOSLAVIA

## SCHOLARLY GATHERING REVIEWS ORIGINS OF CHAUVINISM

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1800, 30 Jun 85 pp 14-17

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Where the Nests of the Irredentists Are"]

[Text] The question which each of the participants in the conference on nationalism in Pristina, which lasted for several days, must answer, is whether this was a meeting at which science, regardless of membership in any nationality, searched for the causes, consequences, and above all a solution for the riddle of why there is so much nationalism in Yugoslav society; or whether this was one of the numerous reprises of politicized science. Arriving at an answer to these questions means resolving what is currently the basic dilemma of the Kosovo situation -- whether we are, even after this meeting, where we were before it, and whether we nevertheless retained our irreconcilable positions concerning Yugoslavia's deepest wound.

Thus, after everything, are we standing by the assertion, uttered only a year ago, that Marxist science, "with honorable exceptions, avoided dealing with nationalism? While the Marxists dealt with the philosophy of the materialist understanding of history, nationalists, at the same time, wrote extensive books projecting their ideas into concrete portrayals of history?" Without fear of making a mistake, one is free to say that the Pristina meeting, among other things, was another one of the already customary "simple repetitions of the ideological-political determinations of the LC..."

In fact, it was a repeated challenge to science to deal with the interpretation of problems that go far beyond the limits of a scientific framework. Most of them, however, grabbed at the offer with both hands.

### Economic Reasons

The very fact that more than 200 participants and about 100 journalists (reporters) gathered under the auspices of the province's Edvard Kardelj Center for Marxist Education, the Academy of Sciences, and Pristina University says quite enough about the theme of the "social-historical roots and forms of occurrence of Albanian and other types of nationalism in Yugoslavia, and the ways to surmount them." One only needs to recall that two of these organizers (the University and the Academy) were notorious, not so long ago as to be



quickly forgotten, as "passive institutions" with respect to the counterrevolutionary attempts in Kosovo. The retreat is thus quite evident. Evolution does exist, and whether it is tactical or not is a matter for some more serious analysis.

The symposium was opened by Ismail Bajra, and the opening speech was made by Kurtes Salihu, both members of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC. Many people asked in the halls of Pristina's "Grand" hotel, where the conference was held, what exactly was being shown by this selection of individuals for the responsible roles offered to them. Some of them, recalling the previous roles of these two, who for years were very active sociopolitical workers, were even inclined to ascribe a behind-the-scenes dimension to the entire conference, which it did not deserve, my word of honor. A reason was particularly found when Salihu delivered a 50-page opening speech, and with so much space, the most crucial topic in Kosovo (the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins) was reduced to just a few sentences. Azem Vlasi was the first of the participants to notice this, admittedly only on the second day. "I decided that I would speak about a problem that was only touched upon in the opening speech and in some other documents."

The topic that extended from the opening speech to the very end of the 3-day monologue -- since there was almost no dialogue -- was the extent to which economic reasons are at the root of every nationalism. The tendency to overestimate the influence of certain economic difficulties above all in regard to the causes of nationalism was also continued at this meeting. Even the president of the presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, Kolj Siroka, asserted that in 1981 "the counterrevolutionary events proved once more that in our society and in regard to it there are still nationalistic and other reactionary forces and tendencies, which are revived in occasional crisis situations. This time, the enemy exploited the economic difficulties in Yugoslavia, the consequences of which were being felt even more seriously in Kosovo..."

A similar opinion was also expressed by Kurtes Salihu, when he stated that the main causes of nationalism were to be found in the socioeconomic sphere, primarily in the basic production relationships, and finally, in "the differences in the economic development of individual republics and provinces... In our multinational community, the desire to maintain an economically privileged position, as well as the failure to take into account the real capabilities of the developed areas for the development of the underdeveloped, has always given rise to nationalism..."

Among others, Hajredin Hodza, Hamdija Pozderac, and Spiro Galovic spoke about the serious economic situation in Kosovo as the main cause of Albanian nationalism...

Hodza, for example, emphasized that the sources and roots of Albanian nationalism were associated with the objective socioeconomic essence of social life. Pozderac, as an argument in favor of his assertion, cited the example that every republic and province promised at one time to build one economic installation each in Kosovo. This was a minimal program, which so far has not been carried out. Under the pressure of the Kosovo events in 1981, many

promises in regard to economics were given to the province, and were later forgotten. Spiro Galovic, a guest from Belgrade, went a step or two further in his speech, claiming that it was quite understandable and even acceptable that "... all nationalisms in the framework of Yugoslavia are based primarily upon economic and social trends, although the causes of nationalism should not be sought only in the economic sphere, on a strictly deterministic basis. Not even Albanian nationalism and irredentism are an exception..."

### Sense in Nonsense

Even after this conference, a question remains unanswered: is the economic situation really the main cause of the occurrence of Albanian or any other nationalism? We are also of the opinion that if this reason has already been taken into account by the Albanians, it can also be "loaned" to others, since in this country no one is rich enough to be self-satisfied, not even the Slovenes. A fairly large number of people, however, do not understand why the way out of the economic difficulties would be nationalism, especially nationalism of a sort that forces other peoples to emigrate. What is going on, for example, with irredentist indoctrination? How much influence has been exerted by the false slogan "Trepca works; Belgrade is built," and why is it not officially refuted by the truth that about 80 percent of the investments in the province are covered by federal money?

President of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC Kolj Siroka cited as the reason for the outbreak of nationalism, among other things, the policies of the leadership of Kosovo at that time; in the last few years before the well-known events, it objectively opened up room for nationalist activity in Kosovo, and did not make a sharp distinction between our orientation and the nationalist orientation.

It really would be wonderful if today we could, as we did in unison until yesterday, declaim in a "consciously Communist" way one of the favorite "heave-ho" slogans: "We Yugoslavs settled our inter-nationality relations four decades ago." Of course, this would also be a search for sense in nonsense.

Agreement was reached very quickly in Pristina that we in Yugoslavia are surrounded by increasingly more aggressive nationalism, and thus also by nationalists. There was no dispute about this, of course. There was no mention of a disagreement, perceptible to a sense of hearing somewhat more sensitive to political conflicts, about the old theme: which nationalism is more dangerous, or are they all equally dangerous? At the beginning of last year, as some of the more attentive readers of the newspapers will perhaps recall, Borivoj Niksic, a judge on the Federal Court, at a conference held by the LCY Central Committee, said, among other things, the following: "With the exception of Kosovo, we do not have any organized enemy nucleus that could serve as the basis for such activity, and which, for example, could organize demonstrations throughout the country. There are those who are dissatisfied, but they do not represent a real danger to the country."

Many types of nationalism have loomed over social reality, but with different consequences for it.

## The Role of Serbian Nationalism

Doctor Salihu repeated (who knows how many times now) his assertion that in "the form of attempts to change the relationships established by the Constitution, there is also unitaristic and hegemonistic nationalism, and on the basis of such positions Serbian nationalism has also been active, especially since 1981. It is using the events in Kosovo to create an anti-Albanian climate, and to cause distrust and intolerance toward the Albanian nationality; it is creating a feeling that it is unbearable for Serbs to live with Albanians, and a feeling of an alleged threat to and disintegration of the Serbian nation... Proclaiming that nothing is all right in relations and the implementation of unity and togetherness in Serbia, Serbian nationalism advocates limiting the rights of the autonomous provinces, jeopardizing the entire process of the constitutional-legal emergence of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and attacking the greatest revolutionaries of Kosovo -- the Albanians as irredentists and the Serbs as traitors..."

No one engaged in polemics with these positions expressed by the opening speaker, Dr. Kurtes Salihu. He, like the other scholars, received the usual applause at the end of his speech.

It was thus accepted that the Serbs in Kosovo, especially since the spring of 1981, have turned to nationalism, unitarism, hegemonism, and several other specialties of theirs.

It was only after the third day of the conference that an answer to Dr. Salihu's claims was received. One of the last speakers was Zoran Vidojevic, who emphasized that what is working class must always have priority over what is national, "since it is only from this standpoint that genuine communist practice can oppose any nationalism..."

"The struggle against Serbian nationalism is based on concrete class positions," he said. "Among other things, it entails abolishing the conditions under which a large part of the Albanian population in Belgrade and other places outside Kosovo is in the position of a sort of subproletariat, perpetual day laborers and migrant workers who often live in miserable conditions. The idea that this is a natural reflection of the mentality and 'inborn' habits of the Albanian nationality bears an eminently nationalist and petty-bourgeois stamp. Furthermore, it should be stated, not just for the sake of scientific correctness but also for the sake of the urgent needs of practical political action, that the problem of Serbian nationalism is fundamentally different in its real dimensions in Kosovo than it is outside Kosovo -- in the rest of Serbia and throughout the country. In the first case, according to the logic of the numbers and relations of the masses, the actual majority in the national composition of the population, it objectively cannot have the strength and consequences that Albanian nationalism has, and that it can have where members of the Serbian nationality are the dominant majority. In this context as well, one must consider Lenin's thesis concerning the relationship of the majority and minority nationalities, his famous metaphor about 'oversalting' and 'adding salt,' always starting with the question of who constitutes the real majority in a specific social area and time? All of this naturally does not mean and should not mean relaxing or

neglecting the struggle against Serbian nationalism or any other, regardless of where it occurs or the real strength it has. In doing so, however, one must determine the extent to which a certain type of nationalism has become a political movement, how organized it is, how successfully it is kept alive and for what reasons, and where its main centers and strongholds are."

Until every person, regardless of his nationality, can be completely sure that he can live normally in his house, and work in his field, shop, factory, or elsewhere, and until he is sure that he is not there just from today until tomorrow -- until these fundamental prerequisites of human life are fully and permanently ensured, primarily here in Kosovo (in view of the actual situation) for every member of a non-Albanian nationality, and above all for members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities, but also outside Kosovo, for every member of the Albanian nationality who supports an independent and socialist Yugoslavia -- until then, the wave of speeches about nationalism and the struggle against it takes on the characteristics of some sort of pitiful ideological-political endlessness, and actually means very little.

"The significance of the position that nationalism must be conquered first of all in one's own home is fundamental," Vidojevic continued. "But even this position may suffer the fate of theoretical and ideological-political degeneration. This will inevitably happen if we forget that 'one's own house' must always be understood as 'our house,' and that the problem of any and every nationalism is at the same time the problem of all Yugoslav communists and the entire Yugoslav community."

#### Concealed Forces

A considerable number of words were expended in Pristina on pointing out and justifying the reasons why part of the Albanian population, primarily the young, have insisted on the slogan "Kosovo -- a republic." Among other things, Albanian scholarly thought arrived at the recognition that from the liberation up until the Brioni plenum, "in Kosovo there were strong unitaristic-bureaucratic tendencies and forces that acted on the basis of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism" (Dr. Salihu). The introduction of the state language, the preference given to members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities in employment and election for offices, the inadequate position of autonomy, and other things, part of the Albanian nationality came to feel that the problem of equality could only be solved through the establishment of a separate state community.

All of these things are almost axioms, but something is still missing in these premises that are leading to the conclusion. Finally, there is also "the constant propaganda activity of Albanian, based on dogmatic-Stalinist positions," which is also quite true. One "trivial point" remains to be established, however -- which forces passed on to the young people, since they shouted this slogan and many others, their "experience from previous years," and made it possible for them to express it in public. Powerful, but concealed forces.

One can clearly see from the program of the illegal organizations in Kosovo (many more of which have been exposed recently than after the demonstrations,

which leads some people to conclude that their number has increased instead of diminishing) what the essence of the "seventh Yugoslav republic" is. It is supposed to combine the rest of the parts of the country inhabited by Albanians, and thus fit into the concept of the "great son of the country of the eagles." There are no demonstrations on the streets today, but is there a correct answer to the question of where the nests of irredentism are located?

No one with realistic views could say that nothing has been accomplished in Kosovo in the last four years, or that nothing is still being done. Some of the most progressive Albanians are really making whole-hearted efforts to restore the shaken national confidence. Unfortunately, more than a few people are hindering them in this, even among the so-called prominent figures. The positions of these people are permeated with the constant repetition of faded condemnations of irredentism. One may hear in any intimate circle in Pristina that the counterrevolution made its greatest mistake in the spring of 1981. As the reader may surmise, this mistake was going out onto the streets of the cities and villages of the province. This was perhaps the only real mistake by an organization that is slowly but surely moving toward one of its goals -- an ethnically pure Kosovo.

Curiously enough, not much was said about this at the meeting in Pristina, concretely and with examples. Perhaps some one will say that this meeting was held for the sake of science and not politics and everyday human needs. With a few exceptions, all of this actually remained within the sphere of politics, but unfortunately, generalized politics.

#### One's Own Language

During the very days when the conference was taking place, JEDINSTVO, the newspaper of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance, which is published in Serbo-Croatian, published an article about two brothers who quarreled about the boundary in a field and ended up in court after a fight. The brothers were Serbs, and the judge was an Albanian. He passed sentence in the Albanian language! The brothers requested their own language, as did the appeals by their counsel.

The Pristina meeting, no matter how much it delighted us, above all with its existence and then with certain positions, belongs above all to the sphere of speeches. What occurs in the sphere of conscience is a completely different matter, and requires a somewhat more sensitive analysis than an ordinary newspaper article.

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